EGYPTIAN-TYPE DOCUMENTS

FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

I. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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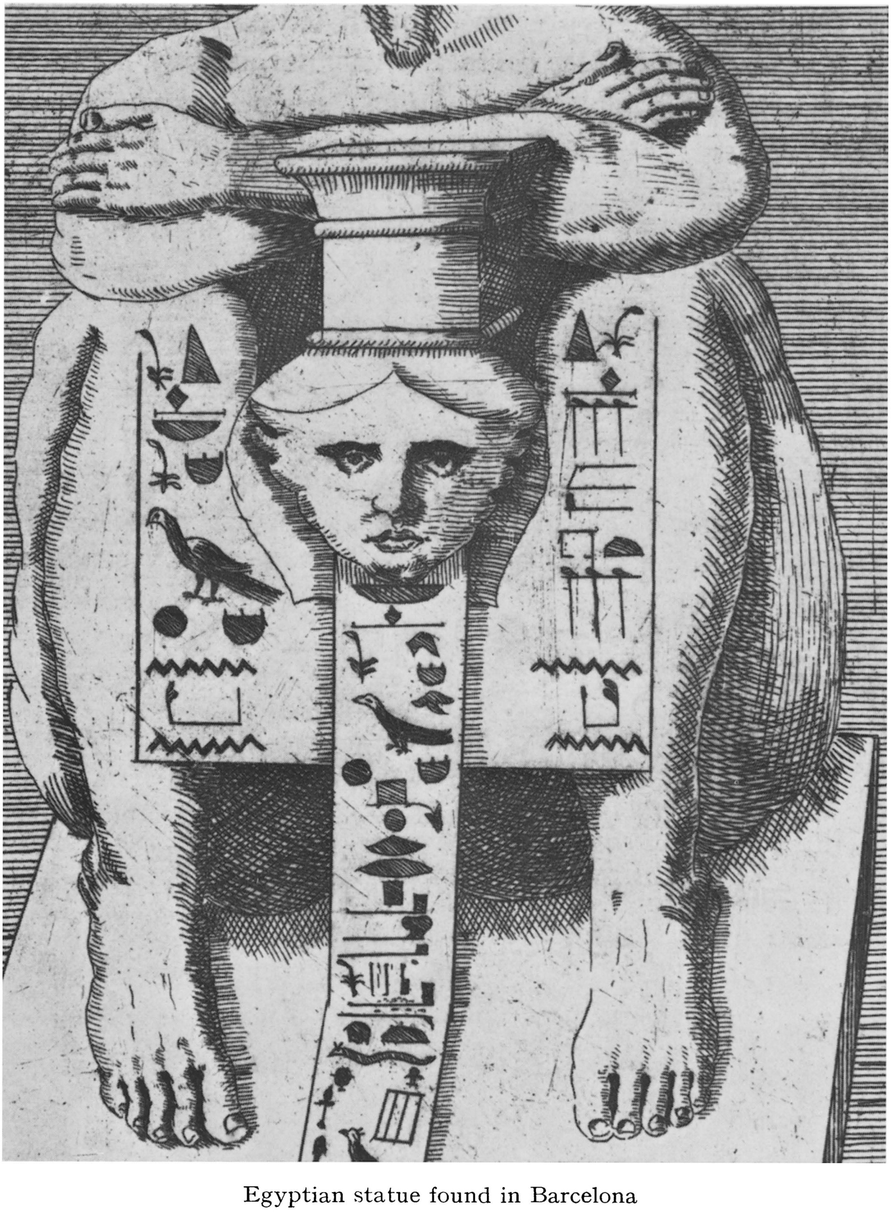

Egyptian statue found in Barcelona

JOSEP PADRÓ I PARCERISA

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 28 PLATES AND 5 MAPS

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PREFACE

When I first moved to Paris in October 1970 in order to begin my studies in Egyptology, I had already concerned myself as occasion offered, with the existence of Egyptian pieces in protohistorical deposits of the Iberian Peninsula. These pieces, usually scarabs, made their appearance very rarely and, with certain exceptions, in small numbers, but they were in fact widely distributed. Archaeologists, moreover, considered them of some importance and discussed their chronological value for the dating of the contexts in which they appeared.

Once in Paris, my interest in these pieces increased with my attendance at Professor Leclant's lectures at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. There I observed that all this material is little or not at all known to Egyptologists, owing to difficulties of access both to the pieces themselves and to the publications dealing with them. On the other hand, the study of Egyptian objects, even simple scarabs, let alone the large alabaster jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions, demands a minimum of specialization not to be found, naturally enough, among Spanish archaeologists. For this reason, in cases where elementary caution was not exercised in the bare description of the pieces, mistakes were made requiring subsequent correction.

All this decided me to take advantage of the fact that I myself was bestriding two disciplines, Spanish Proto-Archaeology and Egyptology, to carry out this work, with the intention of presenting it in the first instance as a paper for the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris.

I must confess that I myself at first was under a misapprehension about this task, the difficulty of which was only borne in upon me when I was actually engaged in it. The literature is very extensive and terribly scattered, with the additional difficulty that many of the works of Egyptology needed in the course of the research are not to be found in Spain, while the works in which the material is published are often not to be found in France. This material is in much greater quantity than I supposed to start with, and is to be found, naturally enough, in widely separate localities, kept in museums and collections, which are difficult of access. Having finally decided, therefore, on seriously undertaking this work, and including in it a complete examination and detailed description of all the pieces studied, I changed its final goal and thought of presenting it as a doctoral thesis. Further, I was obliged to change the geographical area of my study. I decided not to cover the whole Iberian Peninsula with its quantity of Egyptian, and above all Egyptianizing, material or less interest for my particular purpose. This material was scattered moreover all over Andalusia, much of it in private collections or put away in the store-rooms of Cadiz Museum, under physical conditions making access difficult. Instead I resolved to study the Mediterranean Littoral. I should thus include not only the sea front of the Peninsula, where the colonizers bringing our Egyptian pieces first arrived, but also one of the channels by which Phoenician trade penetrated the western Mediterranean. This channel connected by means of coastal traffic the nerve centre of that colonial world, which was Cadiz, with the furthest reaches of the Gulf of Lions, traversing the Andalusian coast of the Mediterranean, with Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and the Western Languedoc. It is one of those Phoenician trade routes which can be directly traced from a constant series of archaeological objects, among which those of Egyptian type are merely one ingredient. On the other hand, the interest of this Phoenician trading channel is all the greater for having been directly responsible for the formation of the Iberian culture. Its introduction of iron and the potter's wheel during the seventh century in the areas it reached were historical developments of the greatest importance, with far-reaching consequences for the future. In order to be able to study this trade flow throughout its full geographical extent, I decided to disregard modern state frontiers and include in my work the Western Languedoc, significantly named the Iberian Languedoc, the northern limit of Phoenician commercial expansion, which along the River Hérault marched with the Phocaean Greek trading expansion controlled from Marseilles and encompassing Eastern Languedoc.

In this way, the geographical limits I set myself correspond to the river catchment area of the Peninsula, although I must say at once that Egyptian pieces have rarely been found in regions far from the coast. I have fixed as the northern boundary of my area the River

Hérault, the historical frontier between the Western and Eastern Languedoc, at the base of the Gulf of Lions. As my southern boundary I have taken the straits of Gibraltar and have of course included anything found in the Gibraltar Peninsula itself. I only regret having been unable to include in my study the material derived from Cadiz, since it would probably have served to corroborate or refute some of the theories I have put forward. Unfortunately physical difficulties have proved for the present insuperable. The actual conditions of storage of the material from older excavations have prevented my access to them. Furthermore, there certainly exist private collections in which interesting pieces are undoubtedly to be found. We can only hope that these conditions will change in the immediate future, so that a complete examination can be made of the "secret" pieces which Cadiz is still keeping to itself. Otherwise I have managed to examine every piece in the original, with the exception of two cases — the objects from Gorham's Cave at Gibraltar, and those from Villaricos. For these two important batches I have had no alternative but to rely on existing publications.

It was especially during the period of Phoenician and Punic colonization that these objects of Egyptian type reached the Peninsula. Before that, from the Bronze Age back to the Neolithic, there are some possible influences and a few assured pieces, to which I have already devoted a short chapter in my introduction. Later, in the Roman period, Egyptian influence comes to be felt in a distinctive manner, through the oriental and Isis cults. All this has recently been studied by García y Bellido in his book *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, making it unnecessary for me to go over it again now. For all these reasons, the chronological limits of my work can be set as between the arrival of the Phoenicians in the Peninsula and the total expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Romans. The specific events marking these two developments and with them the theoretical limits of my work, were the foundation of Cadiz by the Tyrians in the year 1110 and the capture of this same city in the course of the Second Punic War, in the year 206. I must say at once, however, that the most ancient Egyptian pieces examined date from the ninth century, while from the third century we know of nothing but a few Pseudo-egyptian or Egyptianizing pieces.

I have divided my work into three parts. The first part, or Introduction, begins with the examination of an important monument, an Egyptian statue found in Barcelona in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately we are completely ignorant of the circumstances in which this came to Barcelona, but it does constitute the first Egyptian piece to have been found in the Peninsula, and its publication by Kircher puts the first study of Egyptian material from the Peninsula as early as 1666. I therefore begin the Chronicle of Previous Research with my study of this statue, to which I have appended also a discussion of certain modern forgeries, in particular the Egyptian tomb at Tarragona from the nineteenth century and the Churriana plaquette from the twentieth. After that I give an account of material earlier than the arrival of the first Phoenician colonizers in the Peninsula, as also of the distribution of Egyptian material in the Mediterranean. This is followed by a general morphological description of the various types of Egyptian, Pseudoegyptian, and Egyptianizing material. I finish with a chapter devoted to certain categories of Egyptianizing pieces, such as the bowls and small polychrome glasses, the coins of Ibiza and other Carthaginian coins, and the so-called 'braziers' with handles in the form of hands, objects which for various reasons have not been extensively studied in this work.

The second part comprises the study of the archaeological material itself. The objects are examined by deposits, beginning with those of Western Languedoc, then those of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia, and finally those of the Mediterranean littoral of Andalusia. Every piece is studied completely and described in detail, together with any special conclusions about a particular piece.

In the third and last part I offer some conclusions of a general nature. In the first place I examine the distribution of the different types of material in space and time, together with their arrival over all, which has its own distribution in time and space. There follows a survey of the routes by which Egypt could have trading relations with the Peninsula during the first millennium. I conclude with an examination of the archaeological contexts of the Egyptian materials, together with the significance of their presence in these regions of the western Mediterranean.

An examination of the archaeological objects of Egyptian type will convince the reader that absolutely every one of them has a religious significance. It is therefore certain that the Egyptian deities, however regarded, did exert an undeniable influence on the native and colonial populations established along the Mediterranean littoral of the Iberian Peninsula throughout the first millennium B.C. This influence, hitherto completely unsuspected, is still more surprising when we consider that hardly any objects of religious significance are known there except those of Egyptian type. Without wishing to draw exaggerated conclusions — we must never forget that we know very little about the Iberian religion — we do none the less have to recognize among these populations a predisposition towards Egyptian cults. And it must henceforward be accepted that when under the Roman Empire the oriental religions reached the shores of *Hispania* they found the soil prepared there by the strong persistence among the *Hispani* — for almost a thousand years — of a devotion to all sorts of amulets and divinities of Egyptian origin. We are in great part ignorant of the reasons for the long success of the *Aegyptiaca* and can only be sure that it was Phoenician trade which introduced them and set the whole process going. Nor can we know the place occupied by Egyptian deities in native religious sentiment or the real importance attached to them. We can scarcely get an idea of it even for the Phoenicians established in the West. But it cannot be denied that these pre-Roman religious tendencies were involved in the process of implanting and diffusing the oriental cults during Roman times and in a greater or less degree influenced it. The archaeological objects of Egyptian type, as presented in my work, are thus established as forerunners, and it is this which in my eyes confirms their importance for the study of the oriental religions in the Roman Empire in general and in the Iberian Peninsula during the imperial age in particular.

In the course of my work I had to make various journeys. Three times I visited Andalusia to study materials preserved in the museums of Granada, Almeria, and Malaga. Once I followed to Rome the trail of the Egyptian statue which appeared in Barcelona in the seventeenth century. I had other shorter journeys to Madrid, Valencia, Murcia, and Nissan-lez-Ensérune on several occasions. I must acknowledge the friendliness with which I was received everywhere and the help I was given. I corresponded also for purposes of consultation with different Spanish and foreign research workers, who in reply cleared up for me many doubtful points. I owe a debt of gratitude, in short, to a large number of people who have helped me in varying degrees to bring this work to a favourable conclusion.

I should like in the first place to mention the instructors who have been of most direct help to me and most closely followed my work: Dr. Eduardo Ripoll Perelló of the Autonomous University of Barcelona; Professor François Daumas, of the Paul Valéry University of Montpellier; Dr. Juan Maluquer de Motes, of the University of Barcelona; Madame Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, of the École du Louvre of Paris; Dr. Luis Pericot, of the University of Barcelona; and Professor Jean Leclant, of the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the Sorbonne of Paris.

I am indebted to Professor Leclant also for concerning himself with the publication of my work since its completion. He introduced me to Professor M.J. Vermaseren, who offered to include it in the series *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* edited by himself and afterwards gave me continual help in the work of preparing it for publication. It was they who made this book possible and I tender my most heartfelt thanks to both of them.

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I have left it till last to pay my tribute to the memory of my professor and friend Dr. Miquel Oliva i Prat, Director of the Department of Archaeological Research in the *Diputación Provincial* of Gerona, who was killed in an accident at the end of 1974. I wish to record my profound appreciation of the man with whom I took my first steps in field archaeology. *Descansi en pau En Miquel Oliva i Prat.*

Barcelona, november 1975.

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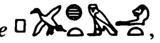
Lacau, *Mélanges Maspero, I, 2nd* = Pierre Lacau, *Le nom propre* , in *Mélanges Maspero, I. Orient Ancien, Second fascicule*, Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Tome LXVI, Le Caire, 1935-1938, pp. 929-937.

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CHAPTER ONE
CHRONICLE OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1. THE BARCELONA STATUE

The first Egyptian piece to be found in the Iberian Peninsula was a statue brought to light in Barcelona in the seventeenth century. Although the circumstances in which this piece reached the Catalonian capital are obscure enough, the importance of the monument in itself and the fact that it was the very first Egyptian object from the area of this work to be discovered and published make it deserving of a detailed study.

In 1952 Porter and Moss drew attention to the existence of an ancient Egyptian statue found at some past period in Barcelona[1]. The laconic text of this reference and an old and incomplete bibliography do not conceal the problems raised by the presence in Barcelona of this statue, one of the most important Egyptian monuments found in the Iberian peninsula. Yet despite its having been known since the seventeenth century and attracted the attention of quite a number of authors, who made more or less occasional references to it, since the description published by Athanasius Kircher it had never been subjected to a detailed study until the one I myself published recently.

The many works in which this statue appears are here listed in chronological order:

Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, pp. 140-143. Velázquez, *Colección*, vol. 13, n. 52; vol. 35, Est. 22 gr. 4ª, n. 74.[2] Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke*, pp. 227-228, n. 506. García Gutiérrez, *Noticia histórico-descriptiva*, p. 59. Rada, *MEAnt.*, VII, pp. 699-700, with a plate facing p. 669. Rada, *Catálogo*, I, p. 96, n. 2014, with a plate in front. Mélida,

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[1] Porter and Moss, *TB*, VII, p. 420 (new impression in 1962).

[2] This manuscript, comprising a number of volumes, bears no date, but may be dated between 1752 and 1760. It was preserved after the death of Velázquez by his brother. In the year 1795 the Royal Academy of History, through the intermediary of the king, asked for the *Colección* from the historian's family. In 1801 the volumes were already in the Academy.

RABM, XVII, pp. 455-463, with a plate facing p. 460. Albertini, *Anuari*, IV, pp. 438-439. Erman and Grapow, *Wb.*, III (1st edition, 1929), pp. 186,15 and 275,11; IV (1st edition, 1930), p. 288,11; *Wb., Belegstellen*, III (1st edition, 1951), pp. 15, 41-59 and 59-84; IV (1st edition, 1953), pp. 47-68. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 250, 16. Mercer, *Horus*, p. 224. Porter and Moss, *TB*, VII (1st edition, 1952, reprinted 1962), p. 420. *MAN*, *Guia*, p. 177. Yoyotte, *Bibl. Orient.*, XIV, pp. 30-31. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture* (1st edition, 1960), pp. 39 and 193. Vandier, *R. d'Égyp.*, 16, p. 106. Vandier, *R. d'Égyp.*, 18, pp. 70 and 72-73. Clère, *ZÄS*, 96, pp. 2-3. Padró, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 175-202 = Padró, *Estatua egipcia*, pp. 175-202. Baqués, *I Arq.*, 14, p. 37, n. 20 = Baqués, *Personajes*, pp. 43, n. 20, and 46. Gamer-Wallert, *Welt des Or.*, VII, 2, pp. 195-205. Padró, *IArq.*, 17, pp. 139-141. Almagro, Almagro Gorbea (Mª J.), Pérez Díe, *Arte Faraónico*, p. 172. Gamer-Wallert, *TPreh.*, 32 (in the press).

My account of this monument falls into two parts according to the two distinct directions taken by my research. In the first part, I investigate the circumstances in which the statue may have reached Barcelona and the vicissitudes it has undergone between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. The second part is my study of the statue itself.[3]

A. *Story of the Statue*

I here confine myself to a very rapid survey of what is known or can be conjectured about the history of this statue from when it left Egypt to its arrival in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, where it now is. Its discovery in Barcelona in the middle of the seventeenth century, attested by Kircher in 1666,[4] poses the question how and when it came to Barcelona in the first place. The finds of

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[3] It is a pleasant duty for me at this point to thank Professor François Daumas, who was good enough to revise my text and translations, making some very useful suggestions from the point of view of grammar and bibliography and of the commentary. I must similarly thank the curators of the National Archaeological Museum, Dr. Martín Almagro Gorbea and Señorita María Cruz Martínez Zubía, for the help they gave me in the study of the statue at the Museum in September 1972.

[4] Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, pp. 140ff. On the personality of Athanasius Kircher, see Marestaing, *Rec. Trav.*, XXX, 1-4, pp. 22ff.

Egyptian and Egyptianizing material in the Iberian Peninsula grow every day more abundant and better known,[5] but the statue continues to be a piece unique of its kind in Spain. What can have been the moment of its arrival in Barcelona? If we exclude the pre-Roman period,[6] there are only three possible periods of arrival open to us — the Roman period, brought by the votaries of Egyptian cults; the late Middle Ages, used as ballast in a ship returning with insufficient cargo from Alexandria, as seems to have been the case with the Palermo Stone; the Renaissance, an age in which collections of antiquities were formed in Barcelona, like those of Archdeacon Lluís Desplà (end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth) and Vice-Chancellor Miquel May (first half of the sixteenth century). For us the most likely is that the statue was brought to Barcelona during the Renaissance, from Italy rather than Egypt,[7] and that it formed part of one of the collections of antiquities referred to. We know that the Desplà and May houses, in which their respective collections were kept, were already standing abandoned and in ruins in the seventeenth century, or even before then, while Kircher declares that the statue was found in some ruins. From other evidence it may be supposed that the find occurred between 1655 and 1661. In any case the Jesuit Father Joseph Zaragozà, who was in correspondence with Kircher, sent him the news, and in 1666 Kircher published the statue with a long commentary and two plates, in which he carefully copied all its hieroglyphic inscriptions.[8] (Frontispiece and Pls II-V).

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[5] As we shall see in the course of this book, the Egyptian finds consist especially of small amulets, scarabs in particular, made during the first millennium B.C. and appearing always in connection with the Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek colonial worlds. But some finds also of larger size have been made, such as the big alabaster jars from the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis, Almuñécar, Granada. In the classical period there are Latin inscriptions, statues of Graeco-Roman style, votive objects, small figurines, and other smaller monuments; cf. García y Bellido, *Religions orientales*. I also record the finding of a fragment of a statue supposedly Egyptian, representing a hand, of normal size, in a Roman villa at Lespignan, in Languedoc (Giry, '*Vivios*', p. 1, fig. 2), as well as a head from a Ptolemaic statue in the Archaeological Museum in Narbonne found in that city, which I am at present studying.

[6] The site of Roman *Barcino*, in the middle of the plain, was not inhabited, it appears, before the arrival of the Romans. The population of the Barcelona region in the pre-Roman period lived in small settlements always situated on hill-tops and surrounded with great walls; cf. for instance Balil, *Barcino*, pp. 27ff. The most important of these sites must have been that found on the mountain of Montjuïc, commanding at the same time the plain of Barcelona and the mouth of the Llobregat. We know practically nothing about this deposit, but fourth-century Greek pottery has been collected there (Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 249ff.) It was probably on the Montjuïc site that the drachmae with the inscription *Barkeno* in Iberian characters were minted in the third century B.C. (cf. Balil, *Barcino*, pp. 38ff.). But it is important to bear in mind also the poverty of the native Catalonian settlements in the pre-Roman period, which alone would rule out the possibility of an Egyptian statue occurring in any of them.

[7] Padró, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 176ff.

On the testimony of the historian Velázquez we know that the statue was found, in the middle of the eighteenth century, by the Dominican Friar Pedro Mártir Anglés in the house of the Roig merchant family in Barcelona. It may be supposed that the Roig family had acquired it in the seventeenth century, perhaps when it was first found. Whether or no, Father Pedro Mártir Anglés announced his discovery in a letter dated the 28 July 1753, a letter quoted by Velázquez, and at the same time sent the statue to the Marquis de la Ensenada, at that time minister to King Ferdinand VI of Spain, in Madrid.[9] The Marquis de la Ensenada must have immediately donated it to the Cabinet of Natural History at Madrid, where it was seen and its inscriptions copied by Velázquez, undoubtedly before 1760. It is worth emphasizing that Velázquez' copy was much more exact than that of Kircher.[10] (Pls VI-VIII).

The statue remained in the Cabinet of Natural History till the year 1867-68. It was still there when seen by Hübner, who in 1862 made the first modern study of it.[11] Following Velázquez, Hübner recorded its Barcelona origin. Moreover he sent the inscriptions to Lepsius, who was thus the first Egyptologist to become acquainted with them.

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[8] Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, pp. 140ff. Kircher's Latin text side by side with a Spanish translation and a commentary may be seen in Padró, *Ampurias*, 35, p. 179, fig. 2 and pp. 183f. On Father Zaragozà, see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, Tome VIII, columns 1465-1468, and also Cotarelo, *Estudios*, pp. 64ff. The correspondence between Kircher and Zaragozà was mentioned by Ceñal, *Rev. Filosofía*, XII, No. 44, p. 121, n. 66. But nothing, so far as I know, has been preserved of this correspondence beyond one letter, the first that Zaragozà sent to Kircher, dated the 1st December 1655 from "*Provincia Aragonia*". This letter is preserved in the *Carteggio Kircher* kept by the Archivio della Pont. Univ. Gregoriana di Roma: Kircher, *Carteggio*, XIII, p. 130. Cf. the typed index: Lamalle, *Indice Carteggio Kircher*, p. 83, No. 130 (vol. XIII) and p. 113.

[9] Velázquez, *Colección*, 35.

[10] Velázquez, *Colección*, 13, No. 52.

[11] Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke*, pp. 227f., No. 506.

In 1868 the statue was transferred to the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, soon after its establishment.[12] Shortly after that it was published by de la Rada, in 1876, with a good plate in illustration. (Pl. I). But this author was ignorant of everything that had been written on the statue before him and was consequently unaware of its provenance.[13] In 1883 de la Rada once again concerned himself with the statue, though in very summary fashion, on the publication of the new Museum's catalogue, in which he added a photograph and assigned the inventory number 2014 to the piece.[14]

Years later, in 1907, Mélida published a study of the statue, considerably more complete than his predecessors, since he was acquainted with the accounts both by Velázquez and by Hübner and was able especially to take advantage of the results given by the latter, with particular regard to the name of the personage it represented. All the same, Mélida omitted any mention of the statue having been found in Barcelona. This work is accompanied by a large-scale photograph.[15]

In 1911-12 Eugène Albertini gave an incidental account of the statue in his inventory of the ancient sculpture of the Tarraconensis province.[16] This author was aware of its transfer from the Cabinet to the Museum, its inventory number there, and everything that had been written about it by Velázquez (including the little note) and Hübner. Albertini concluded, following the opinion expressed by Pedro Mártir Anglés and passed on by Velázquez, "that it had been brought from the Near East, at a recent period, by a Barcelonese traveller".

On the other hand, the fact that Hübner's publication was several years earlier than the transfer of the statue to the National Archaeological Museum had the consequence that Egyptologists remained unaware of its new location until 1952. In fact, the *Berlin Dictionary* is acquainted with the inscriptions on the statue, which it indexed in all probability from the copy by Hübner and Lepsius. In the *Belegstellen* it is quoted among the unpublished materials which have been used. In this work the statue is vaguely classified as Late Period or Saite. And its location is still given, in 1951-1953, as the long extinct Cabinet of Natural History.[17]

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[12] Albertini, *Anuari*, IV, p. 438.

[13] Rada, *MEAnt.*, VII, pp. 699f; Pl. facing p. 669.

[14] Rada, *Catálogo*, I, p. 96, with a facing Pl.

[15] Mélida, *RABM*, XVII, pp. 461ff., Pl. facing p. 460. The statue was still listed in 1954 in *MAN*, *Guía*, p. 177.

[16] Albertini, *Anuari*, VI, pp. 438f.

What we have said about the *Berlin Dictionary* is equally valid for Ranke's *Personennamen*. Ranke undoubtedly got his information from the same source.[18] It is here that for the first time we find the name of the personage correctly read: *Ḥr-smꜣ-tꜣ.wj-m-ḥꜣ.t*, but the statue is still referred to as "in the Cabinet of Natural History", in Madrid. All the same, in the second volume of the *Personennamen*, finished in 1952, Ranke draws attention to a second known record of this same personage.[19] It is on another statue, in the Cairo Museum, which had already been published by Borchardt in 1930[20] and studied by Daressy in 1934.[21] The inscriptions on this statue are very interesting for the study of the Barcelona one, as we shall see, since many titles in both are identical, and even written with the same spelling. Its provenance has remained unknown to this day.

But despite the publications of the two statues and references to them, Egyptologists have remained unfamiliar with the relationship between the two, and the Barcelona statue itself has been an unknown piece. In 1942 Mercer referred to it merely as an example of a proper name compounded from the name Horus,[22] which Mercer had evidently found in the *Personennamen*, while in 1958 on the contrary Jelínková cited the Cairo Museum statue alone,[23] with reference to Daressy's publication. The existence of the sistrum-bearing statue in the Madrid Archaeological Museum[24] was known also to Bothmer in 1960, to Vandier through the agency of J. López in 1964-66, and to Clère in 1970.

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[17] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, pp. 186, 15 and 275, 11; IV, p. 288, 11. Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, III, pp. 15, 41-59 and 59-84; IV, pp. 47-68.

[18] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 250, 16.

[19] Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, p. 378.

[20] Borchardt, *CGC*, *Statuen*, 3, pp. 139f., No. 888.

[21] Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, pp. 85ff.

[22] Mercer, *Horus*, p. 224.

[23] Jelínková, *ASAE*, IV, 1, p. 121, No. 70.

[24] Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 39, 193. Vandier, *R.d'Égyp.* 16, p. 106. Vandier, *R.d'Égyp.*, 18, pp. 70, 72f. (this author likewise was acquainted with both statues). Clère, *ZÄS*, 96, pp. 2f.

The appearance of our statue in the *Topographical Bibliography* clarified matters in one direction but also confused them in another.[25] In fact, the name of the personage was inexplicably muddled and read as Ḥarkhebi, though the statue itself was correctly identified and described for the first time as a block statue carrying a sistrum of Hathor and its Barcelona provenance was noted. Its location was given as Madrid, "probably" in the National Archaeological Museum, the note of doubt, we may suppose, being due to the identification of the photograph published by de la Rada. The bibliography there furnished consists of the publications of Kircher, de la Rada (the *Catalogue* only), and Hübner, and the manuscript of Velázquez (called Velasquez), quoted no doubt from Hübner.

In 1957 Porter and Moss's mistake was the subject of a correction and some further clarification in a review of this work by Yoyotte.[26] He observed that the real name of the personage was Harsomtous-em-hat and added, thanks to a communication from B.V. Bothmer, that the personnage was "the same as the one of whom a statue was recorded in P.M.III, 220 (2nd line)". This last statue was seen in Memphis in the middle of the nineteenth century by J. Gardner Wilkinson, whose manuscript accounts of his journeys in Egypt and Nubia, which are now preserved at Oxford, were used by Porter and Moss.[27] According to Wilkinson, the statue stood in the temple of Ptah, in the southern propylon of Psammetichus I and near to a colossus of Rameses II.[28] On the possibility of identifying this statue with that in the Cairo Museum, I consulted Dr. Jaromír Málek, who confirmed the identity of the two for me:[29] "Wilkinson MSS. xiii. 77 (upper) is identical with Cairo 888 although there are minor discrepancies in the copies of the text as given by Borchardt and Wilkinson. These, however, seem to be errors of the copyists." Borchardt was already ignorant of the provenance of this statue.[30] Daressy supposed, on the basis of its inscriptions, that it came from Sa el Hagar.[31] We can now state with assurance that it was found in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

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[25] Porter and Moss, *TB*, VII, p. 420; 1st edition, 1952; new impression, 1962.

[26] Yoyotte, *Bibl. Orient.*, XIV, pp. 30f.

[27] Porter and Moss, *TB*, III, p. XXI.

[28] Wilkinson, *Mss.*, XIII, p. 77. Cf. Porter and Moss, *TB*, III, pp. 219f.

[29] Letter of 18 August 1973. I tank Dr. Málek for his valuable help then and later.

[30] Borchardt, *CGC*, *Statuen*, 3, p. 139.

Wilkinson drew a small sketch of the statue which though very simple, makes it possible to realize that it was found almost complete, only some fragments of the arms being missing. However, only its lower part got into the Cairo Museum, the statue having been broken apart at the hips. On the other hand Daressy proved that the statue found its way into the Bulaq Museum[32] "at the very beginning of its foundation", because its texts were used by Brugsch in his *Dictionnaire Géographique* published between 1879 and 1880.[33] We may thus conclude that the statue must probably have been broken shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century and we may hope that one day its upper part will be found in some museum or collection.[34]

We do not know of any other monument in the name of Harsomtuemhe. But there can be no doubt that the statue found in Barcelona, now in the Madrid Museum, and that found at Memphis, now in the Cairo Museum, are of the same personage.

Where could the Barcelona statue originally have stood? I have already referred to the fact that according to his titles Harsomtuemhe lived in Lower Egypt. But we have also seen that it is not safe to rely on a statue's inscriptions as an indication of its original location. This was the mistake made by Daressy in asserting that the Cairo Museum statue came from Sais, when in fact it was found at Memphis. If we follow the view of Clère, we must acknowledge that the sistrum-carrying statues were temple statues placed in the sanctuaries of Hathor or of goddesses assimilated to Hathor.[35] This is all that can be said about the origin of the Barcelona statue.

B. *Description and Study of the Statue*

The Egyptian statue found in Barcelona is of dark green basalt, with a very well polished surface. It measures 43.5 cm. high, 19 cm.

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[31] Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 85.

[32] The primitive Cairo Museum, founded by Mariette.

[33] Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, pp. 85f. Cf. Brugsch, *DG*, pp. 660f.

[34] Towards the end of this chapter I shall re-examine this point in more detail.

[35] Clère, *ZÄS*, 96, p. 2.

wide, and 20 cm. deep thick. It is a sistrum-bearing pseudo-block-statue representing a personage seated on a plinth. It is carefully worked. All the detail and the hieroglyphic signs covering it are very well finished. A straight, full wig cover the head, falling on to the shoulders and leaving the ears uncovered. The head is that of an old man with expressive, realistic features, as is usual with the carefully executed portraits from the beginning of the Saite Period.[36] The nose is slightly damaged. The personage is clothed in a full skirt hanging from the waist to the ankles. The torso is bare. The legs are well defined and the arms, fully carved, are supported on the knees, crossed right over left, with the palms of the hands resting on the arms. The elbow of the left arm is broken off. In front of the arms and legs the statue carries the *sistrum sesheshet*, symbol of Hathor, carved in the round. The features of the goddess's face and the monumental gateway flanked by the staff-shaped gateposts (which in a genuine *Sistrum* would have been shafts to hold the horizontal rods) are treated in high relief.[37] The upper part of the monumental gateway is likewise slightly damaged. The haft of the *sistrum*, very carefully carved, rests between the bare feet of the figure. A back-pillar rises from the plinth to reach the base of the wig. The plinth, an elongated prism in shape, has numerous small fractures along its edges and other less important ones on the corners, in particular in the rear angle of the left arm of the statue and in the front and rear angles of its right flank. From Kircher's published drawings[38] we know that the statue already had its present fractures in the seventeenth century. In general, all things considered, the statue is in a very good state of preservation and there are only two cases in which the fractures have not allowed us to reconstruct the lacunae in the text (Pls IX-XII).

The statue has a column of hieroglyphs on the clothing over each leg, written from right to left on the left leg, which I shall call Column A, and from left to right on the right leg, which I shall call Column B. The two columns are 12.5 cm. long and the sings are about two centimeters wide. On the haft of the *sistrum* there is another column of hieroglyphs written from right to left. This column, like all the following columns and lines of hieroglyphs, is bordered by two lines and continues without interruption over the upper surface of the plinth right up to the edge. Its "vertical" length is 12 cm. (along the haft of the *sistrum*) and its "horizontal" length 10 cm. (along the plinth). Its width varies from 1.8 to 2 cm. We call it C. On the plinth, on either side of Column C and filling the space left free by the feet, there are four horizontal lines, placed two and two, and written from right to left on the left side (lines D and F) and from left to right on the right side (lines E and G). These four lines originally measured 6.5 cm. in length, but now the lines E, F and G are damaged near the border of the plinth, especially G. The width of these lines is 1.95 cm. On the back-pillar there are two vertical columns written from right to left, 26.3 cm. in length and in width both together 4.5 cm. (columns H and I). Finally, a horizontal line uninterruptedly follows the four faces of the plinth (line J). The text begins in the middle of the front face and continues at the same level to the left and to the right so as to meet in the rear face, just below the two columns of the pilaster. The width of this line varies from 2.7 to 3 cm., the length of the front face is 15.4 cm., that of the two sides 29 cm., and that of the rear face 14.5 cm. Some lacunae have been produced in Line J by the fractures of the edges (Pls XIII-XV).

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[36] Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. XXXVIII.

[37] On the sistrums and the discussion of their symbolism, see Daumas, *R.d'Égyp.*, 22, pp. 72ff.

[38] Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, pp. 140f.

All these texts are regarded as unpublished by the *Wörterbuch*, which publishes some passages from them in the *Belegstellen.*[39] Strictly speaking, after Kircher had published the inscriptions in his own fashion,[40] some of them were newly published by de la Rada last century.[41] At the same time we should like to record here, although his work remained unpublished, the copy of the inscriptions made by Velázquez, remarkable for its time.[42] The texts tell us of the long series of titles possessed by the personage the statue represents, Harsomtuemhe.

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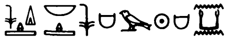
[39] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, III, p. 84; IV, p. 68.

[40] Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, pp. 140f.

[41] Rada, *MEAnt.*, VII, Pl. facing p. 669. It is an excellent reproduction of the statue on which the frontal and right-hand inscriptions can be very clearly seen. On the other hand, we cannot here take account of Rada, *Catálogo*, I, Pl. facing p. 96, since this is merely a small photograph of the statue together with other pieces from the Archaeological Museum, nor of Mélida, *RABM*, XVII, Pl. facing p. 460, where another photograph of the statue is published.

[42] Velázquez, *Colección*, vol. 13, No. 52.

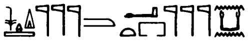
A. 

A. May the king be gracious and grant(a) to Nebet-Hetepet, Venerable Royal Spouse,(b) Spouse of Re, for the ka of...(c)

(a) *ḥtp-di-nsw*: Ritual formula of offering used in the funeral cult. We could just as well translate it: "An offering given by the king to Nebet-Hetepet..."[43]

(b) *ḥmt-nsw-wrt*: Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, p. 78, 7, 8; *Belegstellen*, III, p. 15, with reference to this statue here described as "Saite". It is said to have been a queen's title and also a title of Isis in the Hellenic period, attested at Edfu and Philae. According to the *Wörterbuch*, it is already used in this second sense here and on the statue.

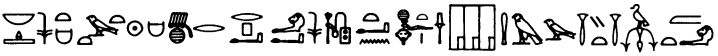
(c) The texts of A and B, which end with the words *n kꜣ n*, continue logically in text C with the word *rpꜥt*. This is confirmed by the physical arrangement of the texts. In fact A and B, which flank C finish at the level where the word *rpꜥt* begins in C. It would also be possible to continue Text A with Texts D and F and Text B with Texts E and G, as is preferred by Gamer-Wallert.[44]

B. 

B. May the king be gracious and grant to the gods in the hall of the gods(a) for the Ka of...(b)

(a) *ꜥt nṯrw*: Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 160, 7, translates this 'space in a temple' and dates this use of the word to the Hellenic period.

(b) The construction *ḥtp di nsw* (name of a god) *n kꜣ n* is explained in Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, p. 186, 15, dating to the Middle Kingdom (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar.*, pp. 170ff. and especially p. 172, bottom) and coming back into use in the Late Period. In Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, III, pp. 41 and 59, this statue is referred to and again characterized as "Saite", text B being copied complete. It should be noted, however, that the sign is the wrong way round in the original.

C. 

C. *Imakhu*(a) of Nebet-Hetepet, Venerable Royal Spouse, Spouse of Re, Nobleman, Prince, Scribe of the Royal Documents of the

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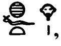
[43] On this formula see Gardiner, *Grammar*, pp. 170ff. On Nebet-Hetepet, a goddess assimilated with Hathor and Isis, see Vandier, *R.d'Égyp.*, 16, pp. 55ff.; Vandier, *R.d'Égyp.*, 17, pp. 89ff.; Vandier, *R.d'Égyp.*, 18, pp. 67ff.

[44] Gamer-Wallert, *Welt des Or.*, VII, 2, pp. 200f.

ḫft-ḥr,(b) Controller of Homes,(c) Servant of Horus great in virtue of his two *uraei*,(d) Harsomtuemhe.(e)

(a) *imȝḫw*. Untranslatable word. The concept *imȝḫ* was studied by Garnot,[45] but the problem of its exact meaning has not yet been solved. Originally it must have meant something like 'pensioner', but this meaning is no longer recorded in the Late Period.

(b) *sš ʿ nsw n ḫft-ḥr*. Title attested from the Old Kingdom,[46] but not translated by the *Wörterbuch*. In the Decree of Canopus, line 26, δρόμος is translated , a word which designated the front part of a building from the New Kingdom onwards.[47] Professor Daumas now thinks that the word means an "axial gallery", and in a note to us on this subject writes: "Serait-ce déjà l'allée d'accès axiale du Palais? Ce n'est pas impossible, mais je ne peux le prouver." It must be noted similarly that the list of titles between the words *rpʿt* and *ḫft-ḥr* appears identically in the statue of the same personage in the Cairo Museum.[48]

(c) *ḫrp-ḥwwt*. Old Kingdom title re-used during the XXVIth Dynasty as a title of a priest of Neith in Sais,[49] and which probably had nothing but an honorific value. In any case, the title disappeared with the last Saite kings.[50]

(d) *wr wȝḏty*. Epithet of the god Horus.[51] Servant of Horus = Priest of Horus.

(e) *Ḥr-smȝ-tȝwy-m-ḥȝt*. That is to say, "Horus uniter of the Two-Lands stands at the head".[52] Harsomtu, in Greek Ἁρσομτους, was the son of Horus of Edfu and Hathor, and assumed great importance in the Later Period, for instance at Dandara.

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[45] Garnot, in Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, IV, pp. 95ff., with discussion and bibliography.

[46] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, p. 275, 11; *Belegstellen*, III, p. 59.

[47] Daumas, *Moyens d'expression.*, p. 171. This author points out that the *dromos* of an Egyptian temple was accurately described by Strabo, *Geogr.*, XVII, 1.

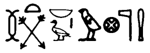
[48] Borchardt, *CGC. Statuen*, 3, p. 139. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 87.

[49] Jelínková, *ASAE*, LV, 1, pp. 79ff. Meulenaere, *BIFAO*, LXII, pp. 152f. Cf. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 89.

[50] Jelínková, *ASAE*, LV, 1, pp. 106f.

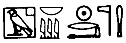
[51] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 269, 4.

[52] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 250, 16, gives two different spellings of the name but not this one. Kircher, *Obelisci Aegyptiaci*, p. 140, already gave this part of the inscription as defaced. Actually the name is quite visible, although the last signs are written on the very edge of the plinth and the stone is a little worn. Following Ranke, Mercer, *Horus*, p. 224, quotes the name in a list of human names formed from the name Horus. The formation of names of this type was studied by Lacau, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 2nd, pp. 929ff., who thinks it could be translated "the god N. stands before me", "the god N. is my guide". According to Lacau also, these names may have originated in the nome attached to the divinity figuring in their composition.

D. 

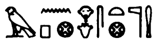
D. Prophet of Neith, Lady of Saïs.(a)

(a) Priestly title attested also in the Statue No. 888 of the Cairo Museum.[53] The word *ḥm-nṯr* is put last in this text and in the following texts as an inversion of respect.

E. 

E. Prophet of Hathor,[54] Lady of Sekhet-Re.(a)

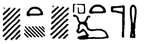
(a) *Sḫt-Rʿ*. Name of the agricultural territory (*ww*) of the First Nome of Lower Egypt,[55] that is to say the Memphite Nome, where Hathor was worshipped.[56] The text of Cairo No. 888 adds that Hathor of Sekhet-Re resides at Saïs.[57]

F. 

F. Prophet of Horus[58] of Buto[59](a) who resides at Saïs.(b)

(a) *Ḥr n P*. Horus of Buto, ancient god attested at least from the First Dynasty, but who must date from the pre-dynastic epoch, from the times of the "kings of Lower Egypt in Buto", when the capital of the kingdom of Horus in the Delta was Buto. Moreover, the tradition was that Horus was born in the marshes of Chemmis in the Nome of Buto.[60]

(b) *S3w*. A late spelling has here been used for the name Saïs. It was already noticed by Brugsch, no doubt on Cairo Museum No. 888.[61] In fact the title is found in the same form on the present statue, and from the parallel evidence of the two it may be supposed that Horus of Buto in the Saïte period was the divine consort in Saïs of Hathor of Sekhet-Re.

G. 

G. Prophet of ... Methyer (the [Great] Cow).(a)

(a) This text is almost completely defaced in the original. The only complete word which can be read is *ḥm-nṯr*. In front of it the signs *h* and *t* can be clearly

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[53] Borchardt, *CGC Statuen*, 3, p. 139. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, pp. 86f.

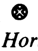
[54] The sign is half defaced in the original but can be identified without difficulty.

[55] Gauthier, *DG*, V, p. 55.

[56] Montet, *Géographie*, I, p. 46.

[57] Borchardt, *CGC. Statuen*, 3, p. 139. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 87.

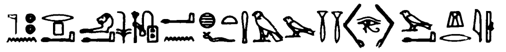
[58] The sign is almost totally defaced but can easily be restored from the context.

[59] The sign  is completely defaced in the original.

[60] Mercer, *Horus*, pp. 53f.

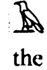
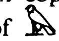
[61] Brugsch, *DG*, pp. 660f. Cf. Gauthier, *DG*, V, p. 2. Borchardt, *CGC. Statuen*, 3, p. 139. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, pp. 85ff., who on p. 89 connects this title with a text from the Pyramid of Unas.

read above, but the sign or signs originally below these have left only faint traces. With the help of the texts on Cairo No. 888, almost identical as we shall see for this enumeration of titles, we can here restore with certainty the word *mhìt* and suppose that the character almost completely defaced must be the determinative for "cow". But a space for the word *wrt* "great" is almost completely lacking. It is present on the Cairo statue,[62] which would give us the complete surname of the goddess Hathor, Methyer, the Great Cow, so that it was to be expected here. In front of the sign *h*, the whole inscription has disappeared, with the possible exception of a *t*. The sign *m* may be conjectured in front of the word *mhìt*, but we do not know what may have stood in the rest of the defaced space.

H. 

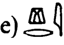
H. The local god of the Nobleman, Prince, Scribe of the Royal Documents of the *ḫft-⟨ḥr⟩*[(a)], Servant of Horus[(b)] Great in virtue of his two *uraei*, he who seeks the udjat-eye[(c)], priest ur-a[(d)], he who stands facing (?) the priest Is...[(e)]

(a) *ḫft-⟨ḥr⟩*. *⟨ḥr⟩* may easily be restored from the text of column C, of which this is no more than a summary until the end, in which new titles are introduced. It may be noted that the text H is reproduced complete, beginning with the word *rpꜥt*, in the *Belegstellen* with precise reference to the word *ḫft-ḥr*.[63]

(b) *ḥm Ḥr*. A mistake in the *Belegstellen* copy, which prints the sign  though with a question mark, in place of , which is very clear in the original.[64]

(c) *sḫn(w) wḏꜣt*. Priestly title.[65]

(d) *wr ꜥ*. Priest's title in the Late Period, not translated by the *Wörterbuch*,[66] (great of arm?).

(e) . No doubt another priestly title. The priest *ꜣIs* is well known in the Late Period,[67] being attached to the cult of Hathor, and well attested on sistrum-bearing statues.[68]

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[62] Borchardt, *CGC. Statuen*, 3, p. 139. Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 87.

[63] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, III, p. 275, 11; *Belegstellen*, III, pp. 59, 84; on this copy there is the comment "so" ("*sic*") to indicate that the signs are missing.

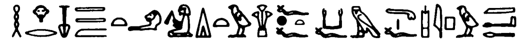
[64] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, III, p. 84.

[65] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 401, 18; III, p. 469, 4.

[66] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 327, 20.

[67] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, pp. 127, 1 and 131, 1. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 101: *ink ìs* ... "I am the priest 'Is ..." The copy of the text in Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, III, p. 84, draws the sign *ìs* without the bind. However, the full sign is clear in the original.

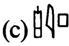
[68] Cf. the recension of Leclant's work by Meulenaere, *Orientalia*, 31, p. 471.

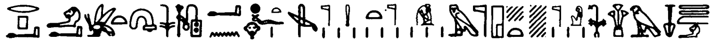
I. 

I. ... Harsomtuemhe,(a) may be placed around him, behind his Ka, before him.(b) The Justified One is a Heliopolitan.(c)

(a) *Ḥr-smꜣ-tꜣwy-m-ḥꜣt*. This is the second spelling of this name we have encountered, as was recognized by Ranke.[69] Evidently the beginning of the text of Column I continues from the end of the text of Column H.

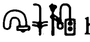
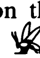
(b) Here the text evidently refers to the local god of Harsomtuemhe, mentioned at the beginning of Column H, who is to take under his protection the dead man and his Ka[70]

(c) . We read this group of signs *ꜣIwnwy*[71] *pw mꜣꜥ ḫrw* interpreting the first one, in the form of an elongated triangle, as the obelisk of *ꜣIwnw*; *mꜣꜥ ḫrw*, literally "true of voice", an epithet of those dead persons whose declarations (voice) have been recognized as true by the tribunal of the underworld.[72] The statue was thus dedicated after the death of Harsomtuemhe, in contrast with that found at Memphis, which must have been made during the life of this personage.[73]

J. 

J.(a) The Nobleman, Prince, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Scribe of the Royal Documents of the *ḫft-ḥr*,(b) Leader of the Prophets,(c) of the God's Fathers, of the Priests, in the Temple of [the Gods](d) and Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, Harsomtuemhe.(e)

(a) As has been said above, we have this text twice over on the plinth of the statue, reading to the right and to the left. The text begins with the word *rpꜥt*, common to both directions, and placed exactly in the middle of the front face of the plinth, and finishing with the name of the personage placed on the rear face just below the two vertical Columns H and I. Judging from what remains of the text, which is almost complete, we must suppose that it was absolutely identical in both directions.

(b) *sḏꜣw* (?) *bỉty sš ꜥ nsw n ḫftr-ḥr*. The signs  have disappeared from the right-hand side, but can be read with confidence because of their preservation on the left. By contrast, we have a 𓏏 on the right-hand side, behind the sign . This *t* has disappeared from the left. On *ḫft-ḥr*, see what was said about Column C.

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[69] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 250, 16.

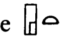
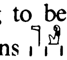
[70] The literature on the ka concept is very extensive. In general, see Daumas, *Civilisation*, pp. 253f. and 606.

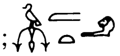
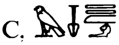
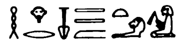
[71] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, I, p. 54,7,8.

[72] Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 37, § 52.

[73] Daressy, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1er, p. 88.

(c) *sšmw ḥmw-nṯr*. The sense "leader of the prophets" is given in the *Wörterbuch* with reference to this statue. In the *Belegstellen* our line J is published from the word *sšmw* up to the lacuna now to be discussed.[74]

(d) *ḥwt-nṯr* ... Lacuna on both sides, right and left. The two final signs to be seen on both sides are . Only on the rigth-hand side does the sign *ḥwt* have in its interior a light trace which could correspond to the character *t* engraved in its interior as in the copy in the *Belegstellen*.[75] At all events, this *t* is uncertain on the right-hand side and is not to be found at all on the left. As for the ending given by the *Belegstellen* copy, this is wrong. The final sign is not , but the sign *t*, very clear on the left-hand side. Following it there is nothing to be seen on that side but a light vertical stroke, before we come to the signs , with which the text resumes. On the right-hand side there is nothing to be seen before the signs . Probably we should here restore the words "the gods and ..."

(e) *Ḥr-smȝ-tȝwy-m-ḥȝt*. The spelling of the personage's name here used has likewise been reviewed by Ranke with reference to this statue.[76] We have encountered the name Harsomtuemhe three times on the Barcelona statue, each time with a different spelling;  in C,  in J, and  in I. It is thus a clear case of graphical dissimilation, a phenomenon studied some time ago by Posener in connection with the Stela of Naucratis[77] where it is extremely frequent. This author asks whether we should not look for an archaic origin for this phenomenon, just as for most Saïte graphical and grammatical peculiarities. The search for variants which characterizes them he regards as special to this period and he explains them as taken directly from Old Kingdom texts.[78] He compares certain variations in the spelling of proper names in Saïte monuments, statues in the Vatican and Marseilles Museums,[79] and the same phenomenon in the Old Kingdom, attested by many examples.[80] Graphical dissimilation in one and the same text has passed down into the Ptolemaic period. But Posener did not for that reason see anything in this phenomenon, at least in the Saïte Period, more than a refinement of writing, comparable to the reluctance of our modern languages to repeat the same words within a brief interval.[81] In the case of Harsomtuemhe, at the very least, we can go rather further. There is here a very clear desire to express, by means of various spellings of the name, the distinct facets of the complex theology of Horus, reflecting the attentions paid by Harsomtuemhe to his god.

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[74] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, IV, p. 288, 11; *Belegstellen*, IV, pp. 47, 68.

[75] Erman und Grapow, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, IV, p. 68.

[76] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 250, 16.

[77] Posener, *ASAE*, XXXIV, pp. 141ff.

[78] Posener, *ASAE*, XXXIV, p. 142.

[79] Posener, *ASAE*, XXXIV, p. 144.

[80] Posener, *ASAE*, XXXIV, p. 143.

[81] Posener, *ASAE*, XXXIV, p. 142.

In J we have the falcon Horus; in C the same, but placed above *smꜣ-tꜣwy*, symbol of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus's prehistoric achievement; finally in I Horus is the primitive sky god, symbolized by the round face and frontal view, with the two eyes which are the sun and moon.[82] And we remember once more that the two spellings of Horus, 𓅃 and 𓁷, have been in use since the Old Kingdom.

To conclude, let us see what we know of Harsomtuemhe. Despite the impressive list of titles he possessed, Jelínková had to classify him as an undated individual.[83] Neither of the statue we have of him tells us either his family or his king. We find ourselves compelled, therefore, to place him in time solely according to stylistic criteria. Following these, the old man's head on the Barcelona statue, executed with a brutal realism, to use Bothmer's words, unknown in Egyptian art before the reign of Psammetichus I and hardly known after this reign, obliges us to date it with great probability to the time of this Pharaoh. It was a period in fact when several statues were created with a particularly realistic expression of face, making them highly characteristic. Among them the statues of old men are fairly numerous.[84] On the other hand, I have already mentioned that the half statue of the same personage in the Cairo Museum was found beside a propylaeum constructed by Psammetichus I in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, whence other sculptures from this monarch's reign have also been recorded.[85] Finally I should like to draw attention to the extraordinary resemblance of the Barcelona statue to a block-statue in the name of a certain Nesna-isut. The resemblance is such[86] as to make it practically certain that both of them came from the same studio and even from the hand of the same sculptor. And the Nesna-isut statue bears the two cartouches of Psammetichus I.

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[82] For the name of Horus and its primitive meaning, see Mercer, *Horus*, pp. 96ff.

[83] Jelínková, *ASAE*, LV, 1, p. 121, No. 70.

[84] Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. XXXVIII, 21ff., Pl. 16-40, 17-41, 20-46, 21-48.

[85] Here we can only regret, as Daressy has already done without effect, that there are yet no published photographs of the Cairo fragment, which frustrates all attempts at identifying the upper part of the monument. None the less, I should like to draw attention here to the upper part of the statue of an anonymous scribe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated to the reign of Psammetichus I, and reputed to have been found in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Its head has an undeniable resemblance to that of Harsomtuemhe. Even its attitude recalls Wilkinson's sketch. For this statue see Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 24f., Pl. 20-46.

[86] Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, Pl. 30 and 31.

It is possible, as Daressy thinks, that while the royal scribe Harsomtuemhe was still alive his king consecrated a statue of him which was placed in Memphis in the enclosures of the temple of Ptah. After his death, in any case, another statue was dedicated to him and placed in some temple or sanctuary of Hathor in Lower Egypt. Some 2,300 years later this second statue must have been found in Barcelona.

2. THE FIRST FINDS

The first records we have later than those of the Barcelona statue go back to the eighteenth century. They refer on the one hand to the archaeological collection maintained by the Count of Villalcázar de Sirga at Torremolinos, which contained one or two Egyptian vases,[87] and on the other to the bronze statuette of Harpocrates contained in the Dávila Collection.[88] We know neither the origin nor the present whereabouts of the Egyptian vase or vases referred to, but considering the place where they were preserved, Torremolinos, we may suppose that they came from some necropolis on the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia. Nor is anything known about the origin of the statuette of Harpocrates, which is now to be found in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. This small figure has a Phoenicio-Punic inscription on its plinth, and it seems safe to say that it came from somewhere in the southern part of the Peninsula.

A. *The supposed Egyptian Tomb of Tarragona*
(Pls XVI-XVII)

A strange discovery in the middle of the nineteenth century gave the scholars much to talk about. An "Egyptian tomb" was unearthed in the quarry of Tarragona harbour in March 1850. A lot of ink and saliva were spilled over this find, and there was immediate discussion among archaeologists not only about its authenticity but also about its dating and significance. Such a dust was raised that even the government took a hand in the affair, and the suspension of excavations was ordered. Finally a definitive excavation was put in hand, and described by Hernández Sanahuja, the discoverer of the tomb, as follows:[89] "On the 19th March 1853, in the presence of the higher authorities of the province, their worships the foreign consuls, and various notables, the excavation was verified by the discovery of various remains of Egyptian character, worked in local marble. A record of these proceedings was drawn up and signed by those taking part, in accordance with the instructions received from the Government and the Academy by Señor Delgado".

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[87] Gaya, *Museos*, p. 25.

[88] Isle, *Catalogue*, III, p. 60, No. 160, fig. 2. Cf. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 28, p. 359.

Various authors, even foreigners, worked on the tomb, and in 1855 there appeared what might be called a "definitive publication", from the ready pen of the happy discoverer. Hernández Sanahuja in his book puts forward the theory that the walls of Tarragona were put up by the Hyksos, who had come to Spain after being expelled from Egypt, and built the walls as a protection from the hostile natives. After the Hyksos the Egyptians themselves came in pursuit. They were well treated by the natives, whom they helped to throw off the Hyksos yoke. In this way the Egyptians established themselves in Spain at a very remote period and contributed to the formation of the Iberian and Turdetan civilizations. And all these events had been opportunely demonstrated by the Egyptian tomb. This had been "constructed to receive the remains of the leader who had brought the Egyptian colonists to Spain, or perhaps one of his descendants",[90] and who must, we are told, have been the Egyptian Hercules himself. In fact, among the fragments preserved from the Egyptian tomb, all perfectly explained and interpreted by Hernández Sanahuja, are to be seen representations of scenes from the history of Tarragona which corroborate the thesis of his work. In this way, and in the same author's words, "this theory, which is in agreement with Spanish traditions, with the theogony and myths of the Egyptians, with the ancient writers and geographers, and finally with the general history of all the peoples of the Mediterranean shores, is found to be explicitly confirmed in these sarcophagus fragments, in the teeth of modern critics, who in envy of our glories and the priority of Iberian civilization in Europe have sought by sophistry to annul a fact which cannot be doubted, as I have proved."[91] Hernández Sanahuja concludes his exposition, before passing to the description of the fragments, with the following words: "Tarragona was more and more losing its historical importance and saw the arrivals of travellers and visitors to its magnificent ruins day by day. It is to be hoped that these recent discoveries will cause a recovery of its ancient glories and give it the place due to it as one of the cities most worth visiting in a European itinerary."[92]

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[89] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, p. 10.

[90] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, pp. 18f.

The second part of Hernández Sanahuja's work, which describes and interprets the fragments of the Egyptian tomb, is no less full of good things. His method is to classify them into historical scenes, theogonic representations, and traditional tales. Though nothing in these last two categories is exactly wasted, with images borrowed not only from every mythology under the sun, but from the very Bible itself, the fragments of greatest "historical interest" are undoubtedly those belonging to the first category. In them we find the construction of the walls of Tarragona, Geryon grazing his cattle, the Egyptians coming to Spain, their chief, Egyptian Hercules, opening the Straits of Gibraltar, the victory over the three Geryons located in Spain (characterized by the pine-tree, the vine, and the rabbit), and even the triumphal parade of the victorious Hercules. Some of the fragments have a strange writing, a kind of blend of Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Egyptian and Iberian alphabets, and one of them even has Egyptian writing, which was interpreted by Hernández Sanahuja in accordance with the work of Champollion. On this fragment are six cartouches with phonetic writing, translated by Hernández Sanahuja into "Iberian" as follows: Soou or Egyptian Hercules. Lord of the world and its regions and countries ... of the rabbits (Spahn). Beloved of Re (the sun). Son of Amun, Lord of the gods." Between these cartouches is a picture with "hieroglyphic or ideographic writing", translated thus: "The colonies (bees) coming from the region of the crocodile (Egypt), crossing the sea, came to establish a hive in the country of Spain, under the protection of the sun, Isis, and Sothis (the Syrian)."[93]

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[91] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, pp. 20f.

[92] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, p. 32.

If I have spent so much time on these absurdities, it is because of the enormous discussion to which the Egyptian tomb of Tarragona has given rise, and because it is still discussed, acknowledged as a fake but something which people cannot quite make up their minds to dismiss once and for all. Hübner in 1862 already had no doubt that it was a forgery,[94] but Gibert in 1909 again referred to it in a thoroughly confused way, citing in favour of the excavations at Pedrera, where the tomb was found, a certain number of pieces found in the J.M. Martínez Collection.[95] These are an *ushebti*, three scarabs (two of them manifestly Pseudo-egyptian), and a bronze statuette of Isis suckling Horus.[96] To these pieces I can add an Egyptianizing sphinx from the Tarragona Archaeological Museum, exact provenance unknown, and an *ushebti* published by Hernández Sanahuja as found in the Egyptian tomb,[97] which may well have been the only authentic piece in it, though brought there from heaven knows where. I confess I do not know what to do about all these pieces. Their connection with the Egyptian tomb of Pedrera totally discredits them in my eyes. Some of them, such as the scarabs, are on any view authentic pieces, despite having formed part of the contents of the notorious tomb. They must have been brought from somewhere, perhaps Tarragona itself, we shall never know where. But all things considered I have preferred to pass them over in the Catalogue which forms the main body of this work, and simply place their existence here on record. For another thing, we do not know the present whereabouts of this material. As for the fragments of the supposed Egyptian grave, it seems that some of them were taken to the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid,[98] while the rest remained in the Tarragona Museum. Most of them were caused to vanish years later, apparently by being thrown into the sea. This and the fact that Hernández Sanahuja himself never again took up the question of "his" Egyptian tomb are sufficiently revealing, but evidently the hushing up of the affair did nothing to clarify it. Recently my friend L. Baqués was shown one of the fragments of the sarcophagus still kept in the Tarragona Museum, and informs me that it was "simply grotesque".

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[93] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, pp. 66f.

[94] Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke*, p. 284.

[95] Gibert, *Tarragona*, pp. 163ff., 168ff., 179ff.

[96] These objects were found in 1852 by Juan Fernández de Velasco in a place called Bosc Negre in Tarragona city according to the information given by its owner Juan Manuel Martínez, and noticed by Castillo, *BRAH*, LIV, pp. 169ff. If this information is true, these pieces were probably found among Roman remains. García y Bellido, *Religions orientales*, p. 119, on his hand, mentions two statuettes of Isis suckling Horus from Tarragona but in fact, it is only one piece.

[97] Hernández Sanahuja, *Resúmen*, p. 90, Pl. I, No. 40.

And that is the story of the supposed Egyptian tomb of Tarragona. In view of the ridiculous scrawls which made up the greater part of its fragments, we can only wonder at the hubbub made by the affair in the world of scholarship. What I have written will serve to put on record the first imposture in the history of Spanish archaeology. I cannot say that it was the greatest, but it was certainly the clumsiest.

B. *Finds Previous to the Civil War*

The Egyptian or Egyptianizing pieces which came to light without any doubt in Peninsular deposits of the pre-Roman period are very infrequent in the nineteenth century, owing to the fact that so little attention was paid to such "junk" that it was almost completely overlooked. The pieces of greatest importance or such gems as might occasionally appear must have been immediately acquired by private persons without becoming known to the world of scholarship.

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[98] Gibert, *Tarragona*, pp. 164 and 180. Professor M. Almagro, Director of the National Archaeological Museum, was good enough to inform me that only one record is to be found in the archives of his Museum relating to the admission there of any Egyptian piece originating in Tarragona. This is File No. 7 of the year 1867, with a statement of objects presented by the Marquis of Monistrol, all coming from the Tarragona quarries except for one "Egyptianizing Phoenician bronze figure" which was found in Castillo de Monteagudo (Murcia). Among the objects coming from Tarragona there was "one Egyptian bronze figure", probably a representation of Osiris. It has not been possible so far to discover anything further about any of these pieces nor have any of them been identified among the present Museum stock. On the other hand, according to Beltrán Villagrasa, *BArq.*, 97-104, p. 242, the fragments of the tomb taken to Madrid are now in a store-room of the Royal Academy of History. Years later, in 1870, Hernández Sanahuja made another attempt to rehabilitate the tomb, while changing some of his ideas on the subject; cf. Babot, *BArq.*, 93-96, pp. 217ff. This did not, however, prevent him from burning those copies which he could recover of his *Resúmen* and causing to vanish in the sea the fragments of the tomb. Cf. some recent views on the "case" in Beltrán Villagrasa, *BArq.*, 97-104, pp. 241f., and in Kurz, *Fakes*, pp. 304ff.

Symptomatically, the first record we have comes from Cadiz, and is of a Pseudoegyptian scaraboid with a Phoenician inscription which was found in the Puerta de Tierra and published by Delgado in 1871.[99] The same piece was also to be published successively by Rodríguez de Berlanga in 1881[100] and in 1891, the date of publication by the same author of a scarab from Malaga,[101] and by Hübner in 1893.[102] Before the end of the century Bonsor in 1899 published the first results of his systematic excavations in the region of Carmona, which resulted in the discovery of an interesting series of ivories, some of them engraved with Egyptianizing subjects.[103]

In 1902 Paris published the second known piece to come from the area I study in this book. It was a gold roundel, which, like the scarab just mentioned, was supposed to have been found in Malaga.[104] In the following year Rodríguez de Berlanga offered weighty arguments against a Malagan origin for this piece,[105] and in the same year 1903 Paris himself agreed with his view, insisting only that it must have originated in the southern part of the Peninsula.[106] In 1907 Siret published a report on his excavations at Villaricos, where Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian pieces had for the first time appeared in relatively substantial numbers, especially scarabs and amulets.[107]

The first records of finds outside the Andalusian region were from Empúries (Ampurias), by Botet in 1908. These were of a series of scarabs, amulets, and vases which had been found on the site of this Greek colony before the commencement of the official excavations.[108] In the same year 1908 the work of Frickenhaus was published, containing a detailed study of two of the Egyptian vessels from Empúries, an aryballos in faience and a moulded flask in the form of a hedgehog.[109] In 1912 Poulsen in his turn discussed the Egyptianizing roundel supposedly found at Malaga.[110] In 1914 Gandía noted in the *Diario de Excavaciones de Empurias* the find of a scarab at a 4th-century level, a piece, however, which has remained completely unpublished until recently.[111] In 1915 Quintero put on record the Cadiz finds and the archaeological situation in the city, shortly after he himself had taken charge of the excavations there. Among these finds were a considerable number of scarabs.[112] Quintero's work at Cadiz was to continue without interruption for twenty years. Quintero's publication was reviewed by Bosch in the *Anuari* for 1913-14,[113] and on the same date Cazurro and Gandía once again published the faience vases from Empúries.[114] The records of this decade conclude with Vives' important book published in 1917.[115] This, though basically devoted to Ibiza, also contains Peninsular material, including some from Cadiz and the Malaga roundel already mentioned more than once.

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[99] Delgado, *Nuevo método*, I, p. CXXXI.

[100] Rodríguez de Berlanga, *Los bronces*, pp. 396f.

[101] Rodríguez de Berlanga, *El nuevo bronce*, pp. 328f., 332f.

[102] Hübner, *Monumenta*, p. 188.

[103] Bonsor, *RArq.*, XXXV.

[104] Paris, *Mél. Perrot*, pp. 255ff.

[105] Rodríguez de Berlanga, *Bull. Hisp.*, V, pp. 228ff.

[106] Paris, *L'Art et l'Industrie*, I, pp. 97ff.

[107] Siret, *Villaricos y Herrerías.*

[108] Botet, *Data aproximada.*

In 1920 the Treasure of Aliseda was discovered. It was published in 1921 by Mélida,[116] with a number of pieces of Egyptianizing jewelry, a crystal vessel with a hieroglyphic inscription, and some scarabs and scaraboids. In 1925 Correia published a scarab inscribed with the name of Psammetichus I which had been found in the necropolis of Alcácer do Sal.[117] These finds substantially widened the area of distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianizing materials in the Iberian Peninsula, by including its central Atlantic slopes, with Portugal and Extremadura. There followed a series of works in which known material was reviewed or republished. Thus Bonsor in 1928 once again published an account of his work in the Carmona region, where Egyptianizing ivories, scarabs, and alabaster jars had been discovered,[118] and in 1929, on the occasion of the International Exhibition at Barcelona, Bosch and Serra again published some pieces from Villaricos and Empúries.[119] The excavation of the Molar necropolis, published by Senent in 1930,[120] revealed the occurrence of Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian material — in this case scarabs — in the region of Valencia as well. This was likewise confirmed in 1932 by Ballester at La Bastida de les Alcuses further to the north, where an amulet of Egyptian type had been found one year before.[121] In 1932 Quintero, continuing his work at Cadiz, published among other pieces the small golden trinket which he called "The Trilogy" and which is nothing but a Ptah-*Pataikos*.[122]

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[109] Frickenhaus, *Anuari*, II, pp. 195ff.

[110] Poulsen, *Der Orient*, pp. 59f.

[111] Gandia, *Diario*, Año 1914.

[112] Quintero, *Cádiz*.

[113] Bosch, *Anuari*, V, II, pp. 850ff.

[114] Cazurro y Gandia, *Anuari*, V, I, pp. 657ff.

[115] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*.

[116] Mélida, *Tesoro de Aliseda*.

[117] Correia, *Terra Portuguesa*, V, 41, pp. 90ff.

The next stage was to be marked by the appearance of a series of major surveys incorporating material already known. The most important of these without any doubt was the *Etnologia de la Península Ibèrica* published by Bosch in 1932. Among the pieces published here were the scarab from Alcácer do Sal, the crystal flask and scarab from Aliseda, and the alabaster figure of a goddess from the Galera necropolis.[123] I should mention here also the major surveys published in 1934 by Pericot and Pijoan,[124] of which the first published the Empúries faience vessels and the second the roundel supposed to have been found at Malaga. I record also a new edition of the Empúries Guide, due .to Bosch, Serra, and Castillo, in which the faience vessels were published once again,[125] together with a new study of the Cadiz Pseudoegyptian scaraboid with its Phoenician inscription, due to Diringer.[126] Both works bear the same date 1934. In the same year too there appeared the first memoir of the excavations carried out at the Albufereta Necropolis by Lafuente.[127] Here an Egyptian amulet was found.

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[118] Bonsor, *Early Engraved Ivories*.

[119] Bosch, *Arte en España*. Bosch, Serra, *Emporion*.

[120] Senent, *El Molar*.

[121] Ballester, *Labor del S.I.P. en 1931*.

[122] Quintero, *Cádiz, 1929-1931*.

[123] Bosch, *Etnologia*, figs. 216 (p. 265), 222 (p. 271), 223 (p. 272) and 224 (p. 273).

[124] Pericot, *Hist. Esp.*, I. Pijoan, *Summa Artis*, VI.

[125] Bosch, Serra, Castillo, *Emporion*.

[126] Diringer, *Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche*.

[127] Lafuente, *Excavaciones en la Albufereta*.

With the Civil War there was a break in the records from within the Spanish state frontiers. The French state, on the other hand, did contribute material during these years, the first in fact that we possess from Languedoc. This was the record by Helena in 1937 of the finding of a number of scarabs in Montlaurès.[128]

3. RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

At the end of the Civil War the records in our possession had determinated, by and large, the distribution of finds of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material in the Peninsula. The greatest concentration was that corresponding to Andalusia (Cadiz, Carmona region, Villaricos, Galera, perhaps Malaga...), but other more widely distributed finds had been made in Valencia (El Molar, L'Albufereta), Catalonia (Empúries), Languedoc (Montlaurès), Portugal (Alcácer do Sal), and Extremadura (La Aliseda), proving that this type of material could be met with throughout the Mediterranean littoral of the Peninsula, as well as in the valley of the Guadalquivir and the Atlantic slopes as far as the latitude of Lisbon and the province of Cáceres. The enquiry that follows will help to fill in the picture with new points of detail.

A. *Finds and Archaeological Work up to 1960*

We must begin this section by mentioning the very important work published in 1941 by Bissing, who there maintains, contrary to the opinion he himself had held up to that time, that the faience vessels, those from Empúries among them, could have been manufactured not in Egypt but in Rhodes.[129]

Reports from Spanish investigators begin again in 1942 with an important synthesis by García y Bellido in which is given a complete résumé up to this date about the Phoenician colonization.[130] In 1943 Almagro published the first edition of his Guide to Empúries, once again reproducing the faience vessels.[131] The same author in 1945 put on record the existence of an unpublished batch of scarabs coming from Empúries,[132] and Oliva, also in 1945, published the important Emporitan collection in the Gerona Museum, including the hedgehog and the faience aryballos, a scarab, and a number of composition amulets.[133]

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[128] Héléna, *Origines de Narbonne*.

[129] Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*.

[130] García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 1, pp. 3ff. García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, pp. 227ff.

[131] Almagro, *Ampurias*^{1}.

In Andalusia I must mention the activity of Fernández-Chicarro, with publications in 1945[134] and 1948-49,[135] and in Murcia the excavations of Sánchez Jiménez in Los Villares (Hoya de Santa Ana) which yielded a faience aryballos published by the excavator in 1947[136] and by García y Bellido in 1948.[137]

From the nineteen-forties too come two important works of coordination by García y Bellido, in which he publishes, once again, the faience vessels from Empúries. One of these is the *Ars Hispaniae*, published in 1947,[138] the other *Hispania Graeca*, published in 1948.[139] At the end of this decade, in 1950, Riis published a study of the alabaster statuette from Galera.[140]

During the fifties there was an intensification of work done and an increase in the frequency of publication. In 1951 there appeared Astruc's work on Villaricos,[141] which for all its deficiencies is the only usable record hitherto of this deposit. The same year Waechter published his excavations in Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar, but limited himself to noting the existence of a Punic surface level containing scarabs and other material which was not studied.[142] Fernández-Chicarro continued his activities in Andalusia with the publication of some scarabs, in two works dated 1950-51[143] and 1952.[144] In 1952 Figueras published a first study of the Albufereta Necropolis, in which as we have seen an Egyptian amulet was discovered.[145] The same year saw another great work of coordination by García y Bellido, this time in the *Historia de España* edited by Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal,[146] once more reproducing the faience aryballos and hedgehog from Empúries.

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[132] Almagro, *MMAP*, V, pp. 67ff.

[133] Oliva, *MMAP*, V, pp. 95ff.

[134] Fernández-Chicarro, *MMAP*, VI, pp. 119ff.

[135] Fernández-Chicarro, *MMAP*, IX-X, pp. 108ff.

[136] Sánchez Jiménez, *Excavaciones*, p. 108, Pl. LVI, B.

[137] García y Bellido, *AJArch.*, LIII, 2, pp. 150ff.

[138] García y Bellido, *Ars.*

[139] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II and Plates.

[140] Riis, *CHP*, V, No. 2, pp. 113ff.

[141] Astruc, *Villaricos.*

[142] Waechter, *PPSoc.*, XVII, pp. 83ff.

[143] Fernández Chicarro, *MMAP*, XI-XII, pp. 60ff.

[144] Fernández Chicarro, *AEArq.*, XXV, pp. 187ff.

The excavation of the Emporitan necropolises yielded two scarabs, one found in the Martí Necropolis and published in 1953 by Almagro,[147] the other in the Muralla N.E. Necropolis published by Almagro in 1955.[148] Meanwhile in 1954 Ramos published a scarab and other supposed Egyptian pieces found in the excavations at L'Alcúdia d'Elx.[149] For the year 1955 mention should be made of the studies of Arribas[150] and Solà Solé,[151] but more especially of Oliva's report on the development of the work at Puig de Sant Andreu, Ullastret, where a figure of the god Bes in terracotta was found.[152]

Two important works of 1956 were the monograph on the Necropolis of L'Albufereta d'Alacant published by Figueras, with the composition amulet representing the god Horus already referred to,[153] and the first of the two complete studies published by Blanco under the title of *Orientalia.* Here, perhaps for the first time, he tried to place on an archaeological footing the study of the problem of Tartessus and the Phoenician colonization. Without fear of exaggeration we can consider this article as the first serious coordinating study of these problems, closely bound up as they are with the arrival of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material in the Peninsula.[154]

In 1957 Balil published a study of the distribution of the coinage of Ibiza in the Peninsula.[155] As is well known the image of the god Bes is reproduced on these coins. On the other hand their distribution was governed by the final phase of the expansion of Punic trade and is an important element in its study.

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[145] Figueras, *APL*, III, pp. 179ff.

[146] García y Bellido, *Hist. Esp.*, I, II.

[147] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I.

[148] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, II.

[149] Ramos Folqués, *I CAME*, pp. 303ff.

[150] Arribas, *BB-MB*, *5ª E*, III, pp. 31ff.

[151] Solà Solé, *Sefarad*, XV, pp. 41ff.

[152] Oliva, *AIEG*, X, pp. 322ff.

[153] Figueras, *La Albufereta.*

[154] Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXIX, pp. 3ff.

[155] Balil, *Caesaraugusta*, 7-8, pp. 110ff.

The Empúries faience vessels were also published by Bosch and Serra in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, in the first fascicule devoted to the Barcelona Archaeological Museum, which bears the date 1951-57.[156]

Gómez-Moreno, in a small book entitled *Adam y la Prehistoria* published in 1958, assembled an interesting series of data, among which the record of an alabaster jar with a hieroglyphic inscription springs to the eye, found towards the year 1920 near the mouth of the River Barbate.[157]

In 1960, Contreras published an Egyptianizing ring found in Los Villares, in Upper Andalusia,[158] Solier recorded the finding of a scarab in the L'Ilette deposit,[159] and Blanco published the second of his articles entitled *Orientalia*, with the report among others of the discovery of a scarab in La Guardia de Jaén.[160]

B. *The Discoveries of the Decade 1960-70*

The decade of the sixties was marked by a rapid increase in the momentum of the enquiry, due to the greater frequency of field studies, the systematic form in which many of these were brought to completion, and the achievement of important and unsuspected discoveries which suddenly revealed the significance, in volume and quality, of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing material in the context of the world of colonization in the Peninsula.

Chronologically, the first work to notice was Nordström's book, published in 1961, with a conspectus of Carthaginian colonization on the Alicantine coast, based entirely on older works, especially those of Figueras Pacheco, Lafuente Vidal, and Senent Ibáñez.[161] Its theories are as a matter of fact untenable, and in this sense the book may be regarded as the swansong of an epoch. Its special interest is to be found in the publication of photographs of pieces found at Tossal de Manises, L'Albufereta d'Alacant, and El Molar.

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[156] Bosch et Serra, *CVA*, *MAB*, I.

[157] Gomez-Moreno, *Adam*.

[158] Contreras, *Oretania*, II, 6, pp. 294ff.

[159] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, pp. 71ff.

[160] Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXXIII, pp. 3ff.

[161] Nordström, *Los cartagineses*.

The year 1962 was prodigal of works and reports. The most important was the record of the discovery of the Can Canyís Necropolis, with an important batch of scarabs. It was due to the excavators Vilaseca, Solé, and Mañé,[162] and also to Ripoll.[163] Then Fletcher reported the discovery of the Solivella Necropolis, with another scarab.[164] Next, the Abbé Giry published the account of his campaign of excavation in the preceding season at Montlaurès.[165] In this deposit yet another scarab was found. Important too was Maluquer's study of a scaraboid which had been found among older excavations in the *oppidum* of Tossal del Moro, and which had remained completely unpublished until its re-discovery.[166] Notice must be taken, too, of the first edition of the Guide to Ullastret, due to Oliva,[167] where the terracotta figure of the god Bes was published once again. Kukahn, in a work on the painted Iberian pottery of Elx,[168] claims to identify there the Egyptian winged sun-disk as a distant prototype of certain decorative themes on this Iberian pottery.

The year 1963 was that of the discovery and publication of the Necropolis of Cerro de San Cristóbal at Almuñécar, the deposit which has yielded up till now the most important assembly of Egyptian materials in the Peninsula. The excavation and publication were in charge of Pellicer,[169] and a report was published also by Maluquer.[170] Besides a batch of scarabs, numerous alabaster jars of Egyptian manufacture were found, some engraved with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and one of them with the image of Bes.

In the same year 1963 Vilaseca, Solé, and Mañé published their excavation of the Can Canyís Necropolis,[171] with the assemblage of scarabs mentioned above. I must also mention a new publication of the Ullastret Bes by Oliva.[172]

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[162] Vilaseca, Solé y Mané, *VII CNA*, pp. 209ff.
[163] Ripoll, *Ampurias*, XXIV, pp. 336f.
[164] Fletcher, *VII CNA*, pp. 261ff.
[165] Giry, *BCAN*, XXV, pp. 159ff.
[166] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*. Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 343ff.
[167] Oliva, *Ullastret*[1].
[168] Kukahn, *Caesaraugusta*, 19-20, pp. 79ff.
[169] Pellicer, *Cerro de San Cristóbal*. Pellicer, *MMitt.*, 4, pp. 9ff.
[170] Maluquer, *Zephyrus*, XIV, pp. 57ff.
[171] Vilaseca, Solé y Mané, *Can Canyís*.

In 1964 Fletcher published an attempt at bringing together the urns with lughandles, showing a clear association in numerous Peninsular deposits of this type of pottery with materials of Egyptian origin, especially scarabs.[173] In 1964 too Leclant reviewed the records of the important Egyptian finds at Cerro de San Cristóbal, Almuñécar.[174] The royal cartouches engraved on some of the alabaster jars had been identified as belonging to Osorkon II, Sheshonq II, and Takelot II. There was published also the catalogue of an archaeological exhibition held in Seville on the occasion of the Eighth National Archaeological Congress. Edited by Fernández-Chicarro, it included illustrations of some of the pieces from Cerro de San Cristóbal.[175] Finally Pita reported the find of a small terracotta head, probably of the god Bes, in the settlement of Jebut.[176]

The memoir on the excavations of La Solivella necropolis was published in 1965, under Fletcher's editorship,[177] and included the scarab found in this deposit. The same year Díaz Esteban published a first study of the Phoenician or Punic inscriptions from Almuñécar,[178] while an important book by Benoit[179] reported some material of probable Egyptian origin in Gaul, some of it coming from Languedoc.

The existence of Egyptian alabaster jars in Phoenician or Punic necropolises in Andalusia was newly confirmed in Trayamar by Schubart and Niemeyer, who studied the material collected by Fernández Canivell in different tombs of this part of the Andalusian coast. This work was published in 1967.[180]

Two important surveys also appeared in 1967. The first of these, by García y Bellido, was devoted to the oriental cults in Roman Spain, and among them of course the evidence concerning the cults of Isis and other Egyptian deities. In some cases the author himself traces this evidence back to pre-Roman times.[181] The other, by Trias, is concerned with Greek pottery in the Peninsula.[182] Among the pieces studied are faience vessels of probable Naucratite manufacture, and those from Empúries are particularly included in these. The same year Oliva published the second edition of the Guide to Ullastret,[183] in which is included the second terracotta representing the god Bes, which was found at Puig de Sant Andreu.

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[172] Oliva, *Fouilles*.

[173] Fletcher, *VIII CNA*, pp. 305ff.

[174] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 337ff.

[175] Fernández-Chicarro, *VIII CNA*, pp. 99ff.

[176] Pita, *VIII CNA*, pp. 380ff. Pita, *Ampurias*, XXVI-XXVII, pp. 310ff.

[177] Fletcher, *La Solivella*.

[178] Díaz Esteban, *Sefarad*, XXV, 2, pp. 283ff.

[179] Benoit, *Recherches*.

[180] Fernández Canivell, Schubart y Niemeyer, *Zephyrus*, XVIII, pp. 63ff.

In the following year, 1968, another important survey appeared, by Blázquez, who in his work on Tartessus endeavoured to collect the greatest possible amount of documentation of orientalizing type, and this of course included most of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing material from the Peninsula. All the same, this work does suffer from a certain lack of elaboration.[184] Of the same date was a work by Niemeyer and Schubart on the 1967 excavations of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in the Trayamar Necropolis,[185] where an Egyptianizing gold roundel was found. I must also record an article by Leclant on the relations between Egypt and Phoenicia in the period after the New Kingdom, in which he discusses Almuñécar and suggests for the first time that some of the tombs may date back to the 8th century.[186] Finally in 1969 Ramos in an article once more published the scarab and other supposedly Egyptian pieces from L'Alcúdia d'Elx.[187]

The appearance of the volume of Transactions of the Symposium of Jerez, held in 1968 and centering on the Tartessus question, was an important landmark of 1969. For our concerns here the communications of García y Bellido on the so-called "Tartessus bronzes", some of which are Egyptianizing,[188] and of Maluquer on the Phoenician influence in Catalonia were of special interest. Maluquer was able to report progress in the excavations of the Necropolis at Mas de Mussols, in which some scarabs were found.[189]

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[181] García y Bellido, *Religions orientales.*

[182] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I-II.

[183] Oliva, *Ullastret*^{2}.

[184] Blázquez, *Tartessos.*

[185] Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 9, pp. 76ff.

[186] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, pp. 9ff.

[187] Ramos, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, pp. 363ff.

[188] García y Bellido, *V SIPP*, pp. 163ff.

In 1969 there were two publications by Arribas, first, an account of the important Necropolis of Cortijo de las Sombras, which had been discovered and excavated by Wilkins, yielding one scarab,[190] and secondly, a report of progress in the excavations carried out in collaboration with the OJE (*Organización Juvenil Española*) group at Malaga, on the Cerro del Villar at the mouth of the River Guadalhorce, which also yielded a scarab.[191] I must mention too the appearance of a second article by Schubart and Niemeyer on the work of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut at Trayamar in 1967,[192] with the Egyptianizing roundel already mentioned. There was also the publication of a definitive memorial of the excavations carried out in Cortijo de los Toscanos in 1964 by Schubart, Niemeyer, and Pellicer,[193] which turned up some fragments of alabaster jars; the presentation of his doctoral thesis by Oliva on Ullastret (unpublished), with a description of the circumstances of the discovery of the two terracottas of the god Bes;[194] and finally the beginning of the publication of the diaries of Rouzaud's excavations at Montlaurès at the beginning of the century, which reported the finding of some scarabs.[195]

The year 1970 was particularly rich in novelties. Dias, Beirão, and Coelho published their excavations in the Ourique Necropolis, where several scarabs were found.[196] García y Bellido reported new archaeological material from the south of the Peninsula, among which special mention should be made of the rediscovery in a private collection of the alabaster jar with a hieroglyphic inscription from the mouth of the Barbate, some scarabs, one of them from the bottom of the Huelva Estuary, and other orientalizing pieces.[197] Garrido published his excavations in the La Joya Necropolis,[198] where another scarab was found. The brothers Taffanel studied the furnishings of a tomb in the Grand-Bassin Necropolis, excavated in 1955, where a faience aryballos from Naucratis was found.[199] Cintas, Culican, and Ferron devoted important studies to various aspects of the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis in Almuñécar, the first in the framework of a larger work devoted to Punic archaeology, the other two in articles.[200] Maluquer published a book on Tartessus in which some Egyptian and Egyptianizing material is published.[201] Publication was continued of the excavation diaries of Rouzaud at Montlaurès at the beginning of the century, in which the finding of some scarabs is recorded.[202] Oliva published the third edition of his Guide to Ullastret, with the reproduction of the two terracottas of Bes.[203] And to conclude, Giry and Mare, in a general work,[204] referred to the Montlaurès excavations and the finding of a scarab by the Abbé Giry, as already described.

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[189] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, pp. 241ff.

[190] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 185ff.

[191] Arribas y OJE de Málaga, *X CNA*, pp. 359ff.

[192] Schubart, Niemeyer, *NAH*, XIII-XIV, pp. 353ff.

[193] Schubart, Niemeyer y Pellicer, *Toscanos*. Niemeyer und Schubart, *Toscanos*.

[194] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 1-5.

[195] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, pp. 1ff.

[196] Días, Beirâo e Coelho, *Arqueólogo Português*, III, IV, pp. 175ff.

[197] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, pp. 3ff. García y Bellido, *BRAH*, CLXVI, pp. 61f.

C. *Works Now in Progress*

The tendency of the enquiries in these latter years has fundamentally changed, because although new material is still being found or ancient discoveries recorded for the first time, these have not been of quite the same importance as the sensational discoveries of the previous decade. On the contrary, what has been begun is a major specialization of studies. Archaeological documents already published, with insufficient study, have been reconsidered, with the aim of extracting from them as much information as possible.

Thus in 1971 Aubet re-examined certain material derived from Bonsor's excavations in the valley of the Guadalquivir which had later turned up in the cellars of the Louvre in Paris.[205] Among this were some Egyptian and Egyptianizing pieces. Paixão published and studied some scarabs found in the recent excavations of the Alcácer do Sal Necropolis, and took the opportunity to republish the earlier scarab found in this same place by Correia in the twenties.[206] Ferron made a new study of the inscription on the statue of Harpocrates, of unknown provenance, which in the eighteenth century was in the Dávila Collection.[207] I myself, in the course of my preparatory work for this thesis, studied the scarabs and scaraboids of the Can Canyís Necropolis,[208] on one of which I read the name of Psammetichus II. In this year too were published the communications presented by García y Bellido, Schubart, and Niemeyer at a Colloquium held in Rome in the previous year. In the first of these were studies of certain Egyptian pieces already put on record by García y Bellido,[209] and an earlier work of Figueras bringing together the finds at Tossal de Manises, among them an Egyptian amulet already known from earlier publications.[210]

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[198] Garrido, "*La Joya*".

[199] Taffanel, *RANarb*, III, pp. 21ff.

[200] Cintas, *Manuel*, I. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28ff. Ferron, *TPreh.*, 27, pp. 177ff.

[201] Maluquer, *Tartessos.*

[202] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 32, pp. 21ff.

[203] Oliva, *Ullastret*^{3}.

[204] Giry et Mare, *Narbonne.*

[205] Aubet, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 111ff.

For 1972 mention must be made of Culican's study of the Gibraltar scarabs.[211] This important batch had been discovered some twenty years earlier but never yet been properly studied. I myself studied an amber scarab found shortly before in the excavations at Roses.[212] Maluquer reported the excavation of a tomb in the Bobadilla necropolis, with the find of a faience aryballos of Naucratite manufacture.[213] Lindemann, Niemeyer, and Schubart published the memoir of their recent excavations at Toscanos, where they found five new fragments of alabaster jars.[214] And Gamer-Wallert studied a Canopic jar with a hieroglyphic inscription from the Ramón Fernández Canivell Collection.[215] The provenance of this jar is completely unknown, and though the easiest solution would be that it had been brought directly from

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[206] Paixão, *A. II CNA*, I, pp. 309ff.

[207] Ferron, *TPreh.*, 28, pp. 359ff.

[208] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 129ff.

[209] García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, pp. 145ff.

[210] Figueras, *Relación de hallazgos*.

[211] Culican, *AJBA*, 1,5, pp. 110ff.

[212] Padró, *Ampurias*, 33-34, pp. 293ff.

[213] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, pp. 43ff.

[214] Lindemann, Niemeyer und Schubart, *MMitt.*, 13, pp. 125ff. Schubart, Niemeyer y Lindemann, *NAH. Arq* 1, pp. 9ff.

[215] Gamer-Wallert, *TPreh.*, 29, pp. 267ff.

Egypt the author does not altogether discount the possibility that it may have been found in the Peninsula, despite the fact that we have no evidence of the existence of Canopic jars in Peninsular deposits.

In the year 1972 one publication deserving separate mention is Llobregat's polemical thesis on the "*Contestania Ibérica*".[216] In this book he gives extreme support to the late datings of the Valencian deposits which had already been advanced years previously by Tarradell. Llobregat mentions in his survey the scarabs from El Molar and the amulets from Tossal de Manises and from L'Albufereta d'Alacant.

The works appearing in 1973 were much more numerous. Aubet published and studied a bone tablet with a representation of a sphinx found recently at Puig de Sant Andreu (Ullastret), with a study which compared it with other similar tablets in Ibiza.[217] Gamer-Wallert studied the hieroglyphic inscription engraved on the alabaster vase from Tomb 1 of the Cerro de San Cristóbal necropolis,[218] and the scarab from the necropolis of La Joya,[219] in which she identified the name of Psammetichus II. López Malax-Echeverria published the excavation of El Jardín Necropolis, where an alabaster jar was found, a piece which had already been published by the same author once before, though not adequately.[220] Maluquer, Picazo, and del Rincón published the excavations of La Bobadilla Necropolis, with the Naucratite aryballos already mentioned.[221] Solier and Giry published a photograph of the scarab found at Montlaurès by Giry, in a comprehensive study of the deposit.[222] Guiraud published another scarab from Montlaurès which had been found in the old Charra Collection, mentioning also a problematical scarab from Ensérune.[223] And finally Vidal published an iconographic study of the griffin[224] and Vilaseca republished the scarabs and the rest of the Can Canyís material in a comprehensive work.[225] I should like to mention here also two records very different from one another. The first is the publication of a history of Tortosa, a work of Jover, which contains an old photograph of the town museum in which a scarab may be seen, now vanished.[226] The second was in a historical work by Kitchen,[227] who mentions casually the occurrence in the Peninsula of alabaster jars inscribed with the names of Osorkon II, Takelot II, and Sheshonq III, evidently referring to the vessels from the Cerro de San Cristóbal Necropolis at Almuñécar.

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[216] Llobregat, *Contestania.*

[217] Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, pp. 59ff.

[218] Gamer-Wallert, *XII CNA*, pp. 401ff.

[219] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 14, pp. 121ff.

[220] López Malax-Echeverria, *Malaka*, 2 (esp.), pp. 1ff. López Malax-Echeverría, *Malaka*, 6, pp. 29ff.

[221] Maluquer, Picazo y del Rincón, *La Bobadilla.*

[222] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 77ff.

[223] Guiraud, *BCAN*, 35, pp. 175ff.

[224] Vidal, *Pyrenae*, 9, pp. 7ff.

For the year 1974 I must mention my own publication of the scarabs found at Empúries,[228] as also the article by Corominas Villarroya on the Emporitan gems in which two Egyptian scarabs are mentioned,[229] a reference by Lara to the probable Bes of Jebut,[230] and another work of mine in which I study successively the Solivella scarab, the scaraboid from Tossal del Moro at Pinyeres, on which I read the name of Psammetichus II, and the lost scarab of Tortosa Museum, for which all I had to rely on was the photograph above mentioned. All these objects came from the area of the Lower Ebro.[231] A communication was presented by Llobregat to the Ciutat de Mallorca Symposium in which he brought together the material of Egyptian type from the Valencian region — the scarabs of El Molar, La Solivella, and L'Alcudia d'Elx, the amulets of La Bastida de les Alcuses, L'Albufereta d'Alacant and Tossal de Manises, and the supposed Bes figurine from L'Alcúdia d'Elx.[232] Leclant reported the find-spot of a new alabaster jar from Almuñécar, in rather obscure circumstances which it has not been possible to study,[233] and published a map of the Iberian Peninsula with the localities of the finds of *Aegyptiaca*.[234]

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[225] Vilaseca, *Reus*, I-II.

[226] Jover, *Tortosa.*

[227] Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period.*

[228] Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 113ff.

[229] Corominas Villarroya, *Misc. Arqueológica*, I, pp. 245ff.

[230] Lara, *Lérida. MArq. IEI.*

[231] Padró, *CPAC*, I, pp. 71ff.

[232] Llobregat, *VI SPP*, pp. 291ff.

[233] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 43, 2, pp. 226f.

[234] Leclant, *IBIS*, 2, *in fine*.

From what is strictly outside the area of this study, two works referring to the Balearics are worthy of mention. In the first, due to Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca, and Montaner, is published the find of a figurine of Imhotep in Minorca.[235] The second, still in the press at the moment of writing, is by Baqués and publishes the Egyptian scarabs of Ibizan provenance.[236]

The rhythm of publication was maintained in 1975. In a communication to the *Congreso de Huelva* which was published in that year I showed that the Sheshonq on the one of the alabaster jars from Cerro de San Cristóbal was not the second but the third of the pharaohs that name.[237] At the same Congress López Malax-Echeverría newly presented the material from El Jardín.[238] Gozálvez published some archaeological notes by Crevillent, in which he mentioned the scarab of Castellar Colorat.[239] Leclant reported the discovery in the area of the Roman theatre at Malaga of two Egyptianizing architectural fragments.[240] Finally, Gamer-Wallert published a scarab bearing the name of Petubastis, found recently in the El Jardín Necropolis in the course of excavations there.[241]

New work has at this moment been announced, and key excavations are in progress. Everything seems to indicate that the rhythm of research and discovery in this field over the past few years will at least be maintained. My Thesis, presented in June 1975[242] and now completed for publication with the most recent of that year's results, can be seen as a necessary stage in that process, providing a compilation and comprehensive study of all the documentation which has appeared till now.

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[235] Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca y Montaner, *Imhotep* = Rossello, Sánchez-Cuenca y Montaner, *Mayurqa*, XII, pp. 123ff.

[236] Baqués, *Ampurias*, 36 (in the press).

[237] Padró, *XIII CNA*, pp. 751ff.

[238] López Malax-Echeverría, *XIII CNA*, pp. 795ff.

[239] Gozálvez, *APL*, XIV, pp. 161ff.

[240] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 44, 2, p. 244.

[241] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 16, pp. 187ff.

[242] A brief summary of the Thesis, edited from the manuscript before it was finalized, is to have prior publication in a limited edition by the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona* and the *Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Diputación Provincial de Barcelona.* I think it necessary to give warning here that the numbering of pieces in this summary does not agree with that in the definitive publication now in the reader's hands, owing to the *Addenda* which had to be inserted in the original manuscript.

D. *Considerations on the Alleged Churriana Finds*

A series of mysterious finds, closely connected with one another, occurred some years ago in the Churriana region, and in other places very remote from the Mediterranean sphere. I have no choice but to deal with these here, in order to clarify a little the confused situation they have produced.[243] Everything began in May 1960, when Monsieur Jacques Duverne found in a garden of Autun, France, a plaquette 2.5 cm. square, with a representation on one face of a sphinx and on the other of a personage with one knee on the ground and the other raised, stretching his two arms out in front of him. On both faces of the plaquette were hieroglyphic signs not arranged in any order and in each of the four corners a square hole. Sketches of both faces of the plaquette, together with all these particulars, were sent to Professor Leclant by the intermediary of Mlle. G. Viallefond, curator of the Museum of Autun, and Professor Quoniam. Professor Leclant issued a report of the find in 1962.[244]

At the beginning of 1965 a second plaquette was found, with a strong morphological resemblance to the first, reportedly during the construction of an airfield at Churriana, near Torremolinos, west of Malaga. This second plaquette was found by its owner and through the intermediary of Professor M. Pellicer brought to the notice of Dr. A. García y Bellido, who published a report of it the same year, together with two photographs with which he had been supplied, reproducing both faces of it (Pls XVIII-XIX).[245] The plaquette was 3.5 cm. square and between O.1 and O.2 cm. thick, of bronze, with a surface coating of glass paste turquoise blue in colour. On one face was a harpist kneeling, with a lute-player behind her, both facing left.

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[243] I must here offer my thanks to Professor Jean Leclant. It was he who for the first time, during the year 1972, showed me that the pieces here to be discussed were nothing but the constituent elements of a fraud.

[244] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 31, p. 337.

[245] The piece was made known at the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in 1965. In Spain it was presented in 1968 at the Jerez Symposium on Tartessus; García y Bellido, *V SIPP*, p. 164, Pl. II & III.

On the other a personage was making an offering to a deity with a high crown and holding a bundle of large objects. Filling the empty spaces on both surfaces were various signs, hieroglyphs placed at random. The plaquette had a square hole in each corner.

This second plaquette was communicated by Blázquez to Leclant, who connected it with its Autun counterpart (Pl. XXI,2), with which it had surprising parallels. The external form of both plaquettes was identical, both had the four square holes in the corners and certain hieroglyphic signs or groups of signs were repeated from one to the other. Moreover, the representations on both plaquettes were strangely reminiscent of the scenes painted in the tomb of Rekhmire, which is to be found in Thebes and belonged to the New Kingdom.[246]

Meanwhile the plaquette was published once more, this time by Giveon, who emphasized its close kinship with some pieces of another type.[247] These were three stone cylinders each covered with a leaf of gold, two of which apparently turned up in Beirut in 1940 and are now in the collection of R. Jonas at Haifa (Pl. XXI,1), while the third was acquired in 1929 by the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore. Each of the three shows two scenes, in some cases absolutely identical with those on the plaquettes already mentioned, surrounded by a square beading. Each has small square holes in the corners just as in the two plaquettes. The two scenes on the Churriana plaquette, for instance, are entirely comparable with those reproduced on two of the cylinders (specifically Giveon's A and C), even to the hieroglyphic signs filling the empty spaces, although the orientation of the scenes is reversed. All of them seem to have been taken from tombs and temples of the New Kingdom.

All this served to arouse Leclant's suspicions, which he expressed for the first time in 1970[248] and put into specific shape in a conversation with me in 1972. To summarize, it is very strange that details difficult to explain, such as the square holes in the corners, should be repeated on the pieces. Very strange, too, is the absolute parallelism of the pieces with one another, and that with scenes from New Kingdom tombs and temples which could not have been known (especially in the case of the tombs) to the Phoenicians. It is very strange too that many of the scenes reproduced on these supposed Phoenician pieces may be seen in a well-known book of Egyptian art, and specifically one scene from the Churriana plaque and another from the Autun plaque on one and the same plate of this book.[249] Finally, both plaquettes have now disappeared, their whereabouts is unknown, and it has never been possible to ascertain the exact circumstances in which they were found. All this leads us to believe that these pieces are mere forgeries. The purpose of the enamelled bronze plaquettes of Autun and Churriana, of no great commercial value, seems to have been simply to authenticate the gold cylinders, both those already mentioned and others which continue to appear, according to the evidence of Giveon himself, in Istanbul and Jerusalem, and the value of which as pieces of real jewelry is thus increased.[250] It is possible that these cylinders copy the form of a similar piece to be found in the British Museum in London, representing four personages. This perhaps is the only authentic piece in the whole complex, though it too must be verified.

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[246] Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 196, Pl. 86 B and 87 A. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, p. 302.

[247] Giveon, *AEArq.*, 41, pp. 5ff.

[248] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 369.

In these circumstances a new occurrence, no less odd, has been reported.[251] Recently the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid has acquired an alabaster Canopic jar with a hieroglyphic inscription dedicated to Duamutef, although the lid in the form of a human head is that of Amset (Pl. XX). Such a confusion need not altogether surprise us, since it was a thing frequently happening in Egypt itself that the lid of a Canopic jar did not always correspond to the inscription on the body, dedicating it to each one of the four sons of Horus. What is really surprising is that the seller of this piece stated, at the moment of handing it over, that it had appeared many years ago in a Churriana necropolis, apparently the same one in which the plaquette just discussed was later to appear.

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[249] Lange, Hirmer, Otto, Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Égypte*, Pl. XXI, for the scene of music on the Churriana plaquette and the kneeling female personage on that of Autun (though the original has her arms raised rather higher), both scenes from the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes. The first edition of this book, in German, appeared in 1955.

[250] More recently Mme. C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Professor Leclant himself have informed me of the appearance of further gold cylinders of the same type as the previous ones. The one which was shown to Professor Leclant, as he himself told me in a letter dated 21 May from Paris, was acquired in Jerusalem, has the same characteristics as the others (even to the four small square holes in the corners) and shows the scenes arranged vertically instead of horizontally like the others, a completely unlikely feature.

[251] I am indebted for these data to the kindness of the director of the Madrid Archaeological Museum, who gave them us in May 1974, and to whom I here offer my thanks. The piece is being studied by the former curator of the Museum, Señorita Mª Cruz Martínez Zubía. In this connection see Almagro, *L Aniversario Lab. Arq.*, p. 269, and Almagro, Almagro Gorbea (Mª J.), Pérez Díe, *Arte Faraónico*, p. 176.

The authenticity of the Canopic jar is in my opinion not to be doubted. Much more doubtful, however, is the claim that it was found on Peninsular soil. Not only does its connection with the Churriana plaquette make it immediately suspect to me, but also the fact that the use of Canopic jars as cremation urns cannot be demonstrated in the Phoenician world. In fact the sole parallel which can be quoted is the Canopic jar from the Ramón Fernández Canivell collection in Malaga,[252] but its provenance is unknown, and the fact that another Canopic jar from the same set of funeral furniture is to be found in a private collection in Paris makes it clear to me that both jars have been recently imported from Egypt, having been looted from some ancient tomb for sale in Europe. Moreover, it is not quite probable that Canopic jars were exported from Egypt, since these were narrowly restricted to funerary rites in Egypt itself, and had no significance for foreigners even more if we consider our theory dealing with the regular exportation — in a commercial or diplomatic way — of the alabaster jars. One other possibility which remains is the looting of private tombs in antiquity, but against this I much prefer the far less remote possibility that Egyptian necropolises were recently plundered to supply the modern trade in antiques.

To conclude then, we see that there is no evidence of any necropolis at Churriana. The objects alleged to have come from it are to be regarded either as simple forgeries (the plaquette) or as authentic pieces imported at a recent date, in all probability from Egypt (the Canopic jar). For the present therefore our only recourse is to class this supposed necropolis with the Egyptian tomb of Tarragona, as deposits which have existed only in the minds of those who for one reason or other invented them. Thus I conclude the pages devoted to my "Chronicle of Previous Research" as I began them, with the consideration of a probable imposture. Meanwhile new evidence has been announced by Almagro Basch, which we must await in the hope that it will confirm or invalidate our suspicions.

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[252] Gamer-Wallert, *TPreh.*, 29, pp. 267ff.

CHAPTER TWO

POSSIBLE CONTACTS WITH EGYPT BEFORE THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

EASTERN MATERIAL IN THE PENINSULA BEFORE THE PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION

Almost nothing can yet really be said about the possible relations, direct or indirect, of Egypt with the western basin of the Mediterranean. Egyptian sources remain absolutely silent on the subject. All they do vouch for is the existence of relations with pre-Hellenic Greece, with the Achaean or Mycenean world,[1] relations which are also attested archaeologically by objects of Cretan or Aegean origin found in Egypt.[2] Correspondingly, there is Mycenean evidence of relations with Pharaonic Egypt,[3] which we see reflected also in the allusions to Egypt in the Homeric poems.[4]

In the Iberian Peninsula objects of possible Egyptian provenance or more generally of Near Eastern provenance are very scarce indeed before the year 1000. Before the Bronze Age, in fact, the most that can be asserted is a probable Near Eastern influence in certain categories of objects, like the flint knives from the Cova de la Font del Molinot in the Penedès region (Barcelona), from El Cau d'En Serra de Picamoixons (Tarragona), and from Le Trou de Viviers, with fine symmetrical ripple-flaking like those, we are told, of the Neolithic Egyptian flint industry.[5] We may also recall here the Neolithic marble arm bands, some of which have been found in Catalonia (la Valldany), others in Languedoc and the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula, objects which also have distant parallels in Egypt. Then there are the arm bands of *pectunculus* shell[6] and the small steatite beads frequently found in great numbers in megalithic tombs,[7] both elements for which Pericot years ago suggested an eastern origin.

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[1] Vercoutter, *Essai sur les Relations*. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le Monde Égéen*.

[2] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 95.

[3] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 97.

[4] Padró, *Egipto en los Poemas Homéricos*. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 95ff.

[5] Cura, Ferran y Padró, *VII CIEP*.

[6] Pericot, *ACFABA*, III, pp. 5ff. We here thank Dr. L. Pericot for his valuable information.

More specific, although also more scarce, are the finds of composition beads. One of these, of discoid type, comes from the megalithic tomb of Cal Colau (Valldarques) (Pl. XXIII),[8] another from the dolmen of La Cova d'En Daina (Romanyà de la Selva),[9] two more from the megalith of Puig ses Forques (Calonge),[10] another from the Brangulí megalith, La Cova del Camp de la Marunya (Enveig) (Pl. XXII), and some shapeless fragments of composition from the Dolmen de la Borda (Eina),[11] these last two in the Cerdanya region. The beads are clearly of Egyptian type, and some of them are even decorated with an eye pattern, inlaid with glass of different colours. All the same, they are fairly plentiful in Europe, and this has given rise to suggestions of local manufacture, even in Britain, which does not seem to us very likely.[12] Besides these discoid beads, we must mention the two of segmented tube type found recently in the Cave-Sepulchre of La Roca del Frare (La Llacuna) (Pl. XXIV,1).[13]

Together with the finds of composition beads we must mention the amber beads which it is also suggested may be of Near Eastern origin. Amber beads appear in certain sepulchral and inhabited caves in Catalonia, as well as in the following megalithic tombs: Dolmen I del Bosc (Correà), La Fossa del Gegant (Linyà), La Cabana del Moro de Colomera (Organyà), La Pedra Cabana (El Vilar de Cabó), Bullons (Riner), and Can Bosch de Basea (Terrassa).[14]

Of particular interest for its decorative theme is a discoid bead made of a clay paste with a great deal of iron in its composition, with a central perforation and an eye represented on both sides in such a way that the pupil coincides with the hole. This bead comes from the Dolmen del Bosc in Correà and was found together with twenty pieces of amber.[15] An almost exactly similar piece, though made of amber, was found in La Grotte au Collier (Lastours) with small Kakovatos plaquettes and Middle Bronze Age material.[16] Beads of this type are also considered as possibly of Egyptian origin or at least broadly speaking Near Eastern.

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[7] Pericot, *Ampurias*, I, pp. 128ff.

[8] Cura, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 213ff. Our thanks are here due to our team mate J. Rovira for his help in putting together the data for this chapter.

[9] Esteva, *Las Gabarras*, I, F. 4, fig. 34.

[10] Esteva, *Las Gabarras*, I, F. 11, fig. 40.

[11] Padró, Cura y Abelanet, *Cerdanya*, F. 14, fig. 7, and F. 24.

[12] Stone and Thomas, *PPSoc.*, XXII, pp. 37ff.

[13] Harrison, Martí and Giró, *MMitt.*, 15, pp. 95ff., fig. 1.

[14] Rovira, *VII CIEP*.

Outside Catalonia the finds are much more sporadic even though of higher quality, showing that the sparseness of the documentation we have is due to lack of search. In fact, only two deposits have so far yielded objects connected with Egypt. One of them is the Cova de la Pastora (Alcoi) (Pl. XXIV,2), with an important assemblage in which an interesting steatite figurine stands out. This, undoubtedly a stylization of a woman, is almost identically matched by an ivory found in Egypt, and coming from Djebel Tarif, as was first pointed out by Pericot (Pl. XXIV, 3).[17] From La Pastora too have come an interesting series of amber and composition beads. The other deposit is Fuente Álamo (Cuevas del Almanzora), from which a number of faience beads of segmented tubular form, found by Siret, have been known for a number of years (Pl. XXV,2).[18]

Thus we see that on balance there is very little of Egyptian or Egyptianizing character in the Iberian Peninsula before the arrival of the Phoenicians, just enough in fact to enable us to say that there were relations between the Peninsula and Egypt, which however must have been indirect and very unimportant, and that probably, during the Bronze Age, the channel of contact must have been the Cretan and Mycenean world, which was in active contact with the Western Mediterranean.

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[15] Rovira, *VII CIEP*.

[16] Charles et Guilaine, *CLPA*, 12, II, pp. 205ff. Charles et Guilaine, *Gallia-Préh.*, 6, pp. 149ff.

[17] Ballester, *Labor del S.I.P. en 1940 a 1948*, pp. 61f., Pl. IV B. Pericot, *VI CASE*, pp. 86ff.

[18] Bosch, *Etnologia*, pp. 226f. García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, p. 232. Pericot, *Hist. Esp.*, *I*^{3}, pp. 155, 170 and 178. Harrison, Martí and Giró, *MMitt.*, 15, pp. 96f., fig. 2.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EGYPTIAN, PSEUDOEGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MATERIAL

1. EGYPTIAN MATERIAL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SPHERE

Egyptian manufactures achieved an extraordinarily wide range of distribution during the first millennium B.C., reaching the furthest corners of the Mediterranean world. Their distribution, however, was not uniform. It varied in time and above all in space.

Finds of course have been most numerous in the regions immediately adjoining Egypt, especially in the cities of the Phoenician coast and the interior of Syria and Palestine, which had had direct relations with Egypt since the remotest antiquity. Thus Egyptian products appear in the regions of the Mediterranean Levant from the earliest dynasties onward, and even in pre-dynastic times. In the centuries that followed relations with Egypt were not only commercial but also political. On more than one occasion the Pharaohs extended their protectorates or even their direct rule over these countries. It goes without saying that this influence has shown itself in the quantities of Egyptian material found in Syria and Palestinian deposits. Egyptian relations with the Levant followed a normal course during the first millennium, and Egyptian manufactures were still pouring in up to the Saite period and even beyond, though in these later times there were of course interruptions due to political events.[1]

Two developments of a political kind channelled Egyptian manufactures into countries further east than Syria. First, there was the systematic large-scale looting by the troops of the Assyrian Empire, the victims of which were the small Phoenician, Syrian, and Palestinian states. Their cities and palaces were sacked and their treasures carried off as booty to Assyria. Among them, of course, were products of Egypt.[2] Secondly, the Persian Empire, by its political unification of the Near Eastern world, made it possible for Egyptian manufactures to reach its furthest corners.[3]

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[1] Rowe, *Catalogue*. Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, pp. 9ff. Cf. also the constant reports of new finds during the past few years: Leclant, *Orientalia*, 32, 2, pp. 208f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 389ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 34, 2, pp. 223f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 35, 2, pp. 166ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 36, 2, pp. 216f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, p. 127. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, pp. 295ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 359ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, p. 259. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 41, 2, pp. 278ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, pp. 434ff.

One place in the eastern Mediterranean is of special importance for the quantity of Egyptian manufactures found there. The island of Cyprus was colonized at one time both by Phoenicians and by Greeks. It appears that the Bes cult made a particular impact on this island, which as we know from Herodotus was brought under Egyptian rule by Amasis in the sixth century.[4] From Cyprus in recent years there has been a constant flow of Egyptian archaeological finds.[5]

In Anatolia Egyptian material appears rather sporadically, both in the interior of the plateau and in the Greek cities of the Aegean coast, especially Ephesus. Its character is also very disparate, from the typical scarabs to Greek dedications inscribed to Egyptian deities.[6]

The records we have from Greece, the islands of the Aegean, and Crete, are relatively numerous, but here too their heterogeneous character must be emphasized. We find ourselves in fact in a world which has assimilated Egyptian beliefs, incorporating them in its own civilization, so that there are frequent dedicatory inscriptions to Egyptian deities, temples consecrated to them, Hellenized names incorporating divine references, Greek statues of Egyptian gods or priests or simple worshippers. Manufactures of a characteristically Egyptian kind are also most abundant.

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[2] Leclant, *Role of the Phoenicians*, pp. 14ff. Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28ff.

[3] This is the case, for instance, with an alabaster jar manufactured in Egypt, with one hieroglyphic and three cuneiform inscriptions in the name of the "Pharaoh", Artaxerxes, which was found in a Sarmatian "kurgan" in Orsk, U.S.S.R.: Savelieva, *XXIX*^{e} *C.I.O.*, *Égyptologie*, 2, pp. 92ff.

[4] Herodotus, *Hist.*, II, 182.

[5] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 32, 2, p. 211. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 33, 2-3, pp. 392f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 35, 2, p. 168. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 36, 2, p. 218. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, pp. 128ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, pp. 297f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 361f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, p. 260. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 41, 2, p. 282. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, pp. 436f.

[6] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 32, 2, pp. 210f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, p. 127. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, p. 299. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 362. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, pp. 437f.

Among the important centres of Egyptian influences must be listed Samos, Delos, Piraeus, Eretria, the Hill of St. Elias (in Southern Aetolia), Mycenae, Aegina, Delphi, Athens, Andros, and especially Rhodes and Crete, where it was particularly strong and its origins very ancient.[7] Relations between Egypt and Crete must have gone back at least to the earliest Dynasties, and are well attested for the second millennium by archaeological and literary evidence both Egyptian and Greek,[8] including the Homeric poems themselves.[9] A point to notice is that relations between Egypt and Greece were always direct and without intermediary.

Another country where the products of Egypt are to be expected is its neighbour Lybia. Yet finds of Egyptian material in Libya have been sparsely reported hitherto, a fact which may be due simply to a lack of research, rather than any other cause.[10]

Of much greater importance, on the other hand, are the finds recorded in Sicily, both in native deposits and in the Phoenico-Punic factories such as Palermo, Motya, and Erice,[11] but this rich material has not yet been systematically studied. However, the fact that material of this type is not particularly abundant in the Greek cities of the island seems to invalidate the theory of Vercoutter, who suggested these very Greek cities as the intermediaries through which Egyptian objects reached Carthage.[12]

Finds of Egyptian material are frequent also in certain parts of the Italian Peninsula, above all in Etruria, where they were systematically studied some years ago by Bissing.[13] Recently there have been continued discoveries of the same kind, in Etruria as before (Veyes, Castelvecchio, etc.), in Calabria, and in the island of Ischia.[14] On the other hand, a large quantity of pseudo-Egyptian scarabs made of various kinds of stone and appearing in Etruria, generally with Hellenizing themes engraved on the reverse, seem to be Etruscan work.[15]

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[7] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 32, 2, pp. 212ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 34, 2, pp. 224f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 35, 2, pp. 168ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 36, 2, pp. 218ff. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, p. 132. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, pp. 299f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, pp. 363f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 41, 2, pp. 283f.

[8] Vercoutter, *Essai sur les Relations*. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le Monde Égéen*. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 95ff.

[9] Padró, *Egipto en los Poemas Homéricos*. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 95ff.

[10] See the reports relating to the past few years in Leclant, *Orientalia*, 35, 2, p. 174. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, pp. 135f.

[11] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 34, 2, pp. 226f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 36, 2, pp. 222f. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 38, 2, p. 302. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 367. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, pp. 262f.

[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 355f.

[13] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, III, pp. 491ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IV, pp. 371ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, V, pp. 531ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, VI, pp. 453ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, VII, pp. 373ff. Bissing,

In Sardinia too, where the importance of the cult of the Egyptian god Bes was known of old and where there were early reports of Egyptian material, new finds have been recently announced, from the excavations of Monte Sirai and in other places.[16] Sardinia seems to have been an important centre of production for Pseudoegyptian scarabs in green jasper (*diasprum*), the work of Phoenico-Punic craftsmen, or Greeks employed by them.[17] In Corsica finds of Egyptian material are less frequent, though some examples can be quoted from the Greek site of Aleria, which is being excavated at the moment.[18]

To judge from Benoit's chapter on the subject,[19] imports of Egyptian origin are practically non-existent in southern Gaul, if we exclude Western Languedoc, called Iberian, which owing to its deep-rooted connections with the Iberian Peninsula I have taken into the present study.

Probably in the whole western Mediterranean the place where the largest quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material has appeared is Carthage. Fortunately, for this most important assemblage we have Vercoutter's monograph, to which I shall be constantly referring throughout this book.[20] Vercoutter's book, published in 1945, is today

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St. Etr., VIII, pp. 347ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, pp. 329ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XI, pp. 411ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XII, pp. 297ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XIII, pp. 447ff. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XIV, pp. 377ff. The study of amber objects, especially scarabs and scaraboids, was carried out by Bissing, *St. Etr.*, V, pp. 49ff. The study of glass ware can be seen in Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*.

[14] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 365, *Orientalia*, 41, 2, p. 286. Bosticco, *Scarabei egiziani*. The relations between Egypt and Italy have just been treated in Günther Hölbl's *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*, published in the series "Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain". (Vol. 62).

[15] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*.

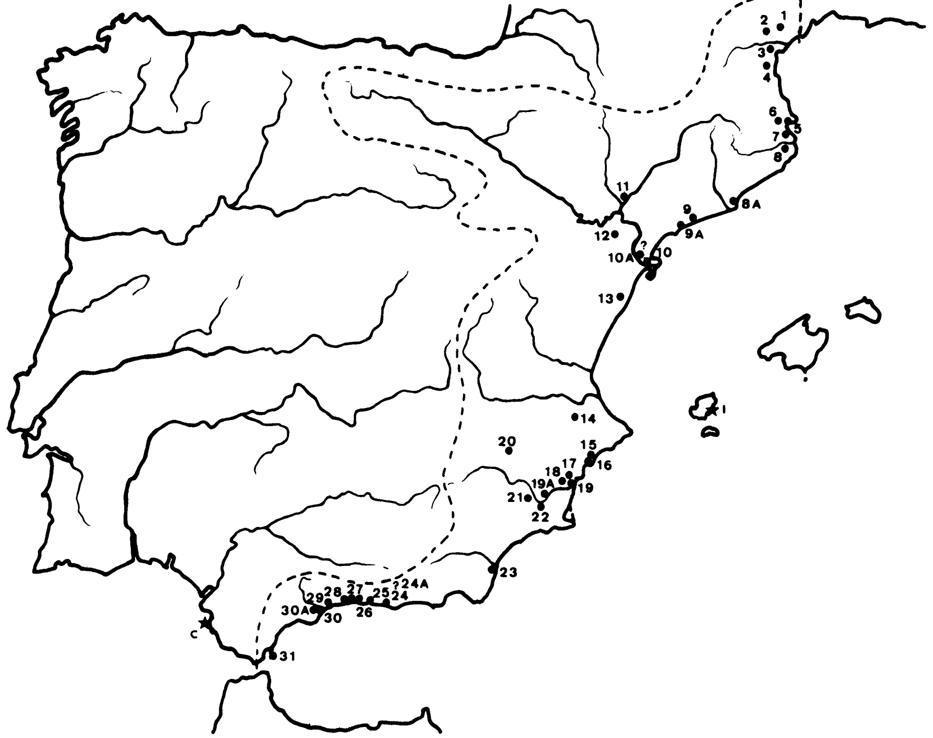
[16] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 39, 2, p. 367. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, p. 263.

[17] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 74, 344f.

[18] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, p. 263.

[19] Benoit, *Recherches*, pp. 67ff.

[20] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*. See also Cintas, *Amulettes*, and Leclant, *Arch. Vivante*, I, 2, pp. 94ff.



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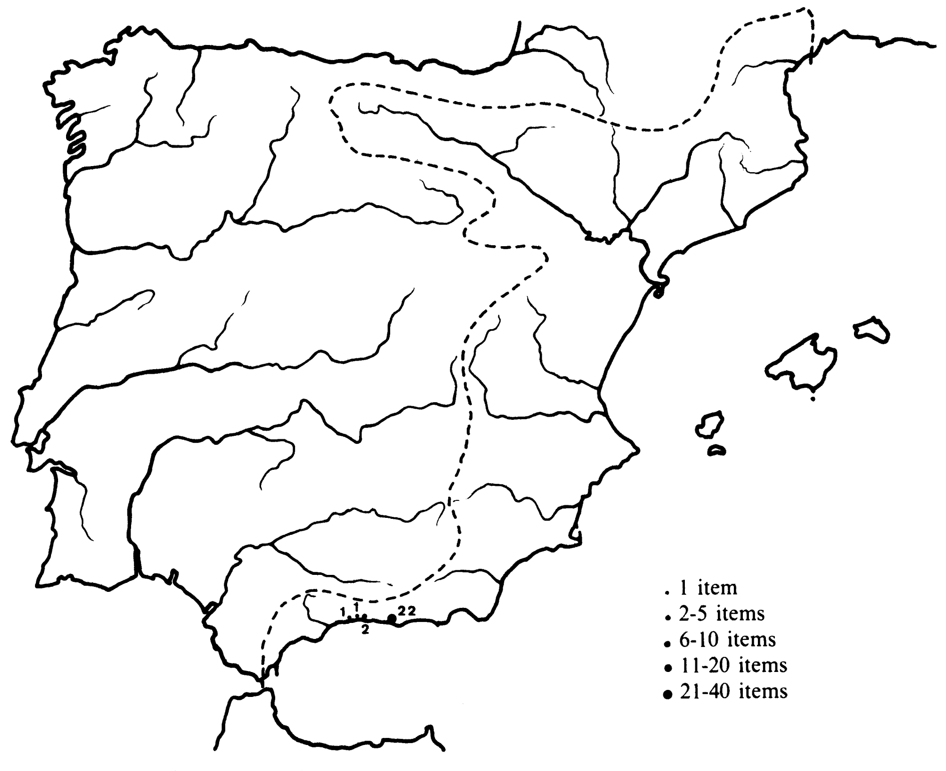
1. – Ensérune; 2. – Mailhac; 3. – Montlaurès; 4. – L'Ilette; 5. – Roses; 6. – Perelada; 7. – Empúries; 8. – Puig de Sant Andreu; 8A. – Barcelona; 9. – Can Canyís; 9A. – Tarragona; 10. – Mas de Mussols; 10A. – Tortosa (?); 11. – Jebut; 12. – Tossal del Moro; 13. – La Solivella; 14. – La Bastida de les Alcuses; 15. – Tossal de Manises; 16. – L'Albufereta d'Alacant; 17. – L'Alcúdia d'Elx; 18. – El Castellar Colorat; 19. – El Molar; 19A. – Castillo de Monteagudo; 20. – Los Villares; 21. – El Cigarralejo; 22. – El Cabecico del Tesoro; 23. – Villaricos; 24. – Cerro de San Cristóbal; 24A. – ? (Prov. Granada); 25. – Cortijo de las Sombras; 26. – Trayamar; 27. – El Jardín; 28. – Cortijo de los Toscanos; 29. – Málaga; 30. – Cerro del Villar; 30A. – Churriana; 31. – Gorham's Cave. Other important sites outside the scope of this study (Probable redistribution centres of egyptian type material): C. – Cádiz; I. – Ibiza.

Map 1. Sites with egyptian type material on the Mediterranean Littoral of the Iberian Peninsula



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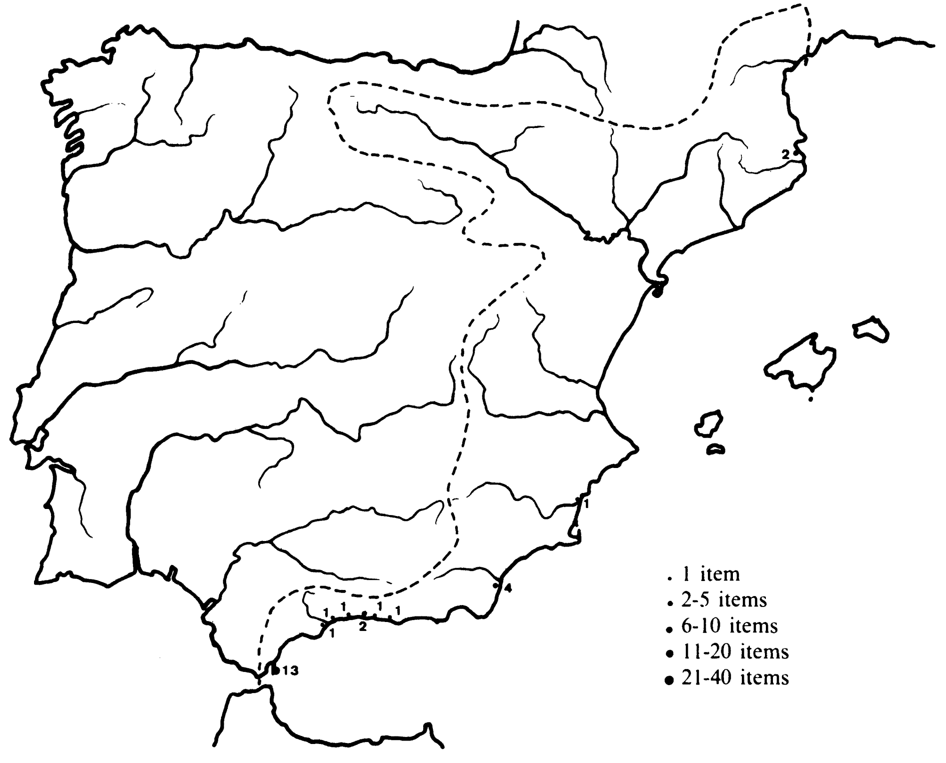
Map 2. Distribution of egyptian type documents of the 9th and 8th centuries. Numbering states the quantities of pieces by site



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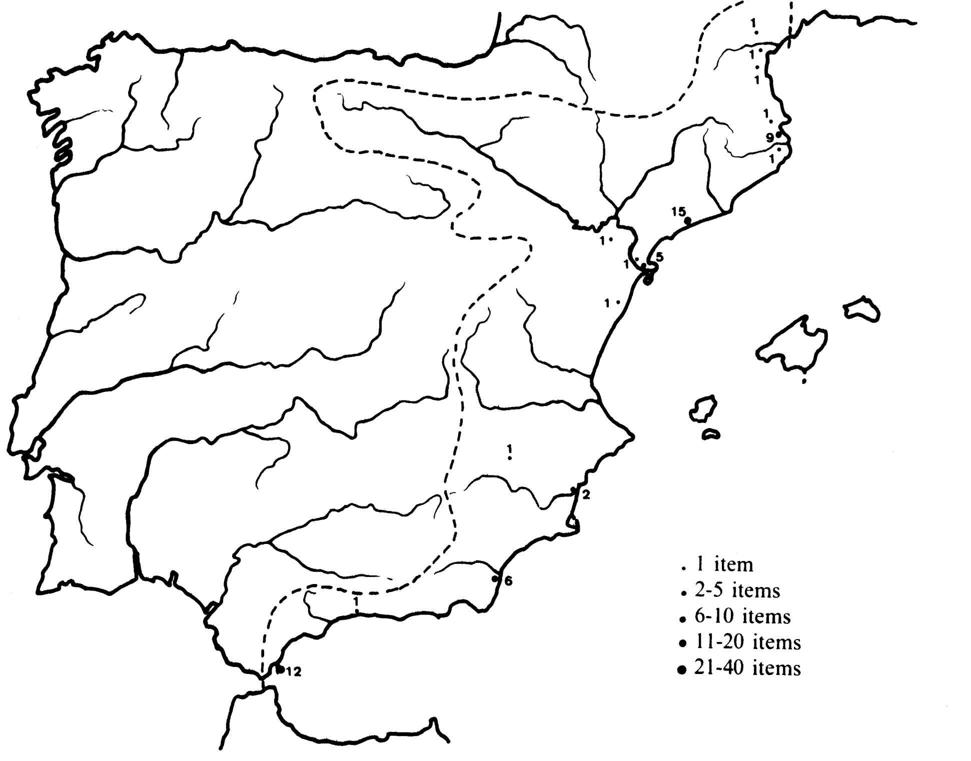
Map 3. Distribution of egyptian type documents of the 7th century. Numbering states the quantities of pieces by site.



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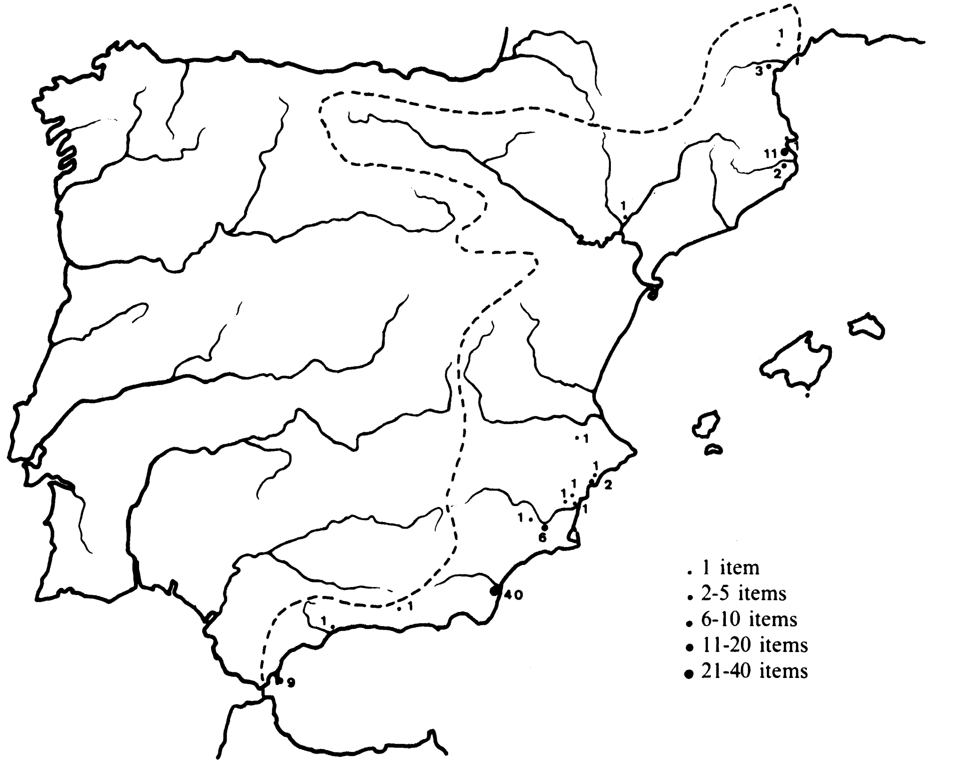
Map 4. Distribution of egyptian type documents of the 6th century. Numbering states the quantities of pieces by site



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• 6-10 items
● 11-20 items
● 21-40 items

Map 5. Distribution of egyptian type documents of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Numbering states the quantities of pieces by site

still of fundamental importance. We shall have repeated recourse to it not only in search of parallels and dating sequences, but also of working method. Other Egyptian and Egyptianizing materials come from the neighbourhood of Carthage, specifically Utica and Kerkuan. In Kerkuan, moreover, a composition factory[21] has been discovered, proving that the objects made of this material, such as necklace beads or small polychrome vases, could have been manufactured by Phoenician or Punic craftsmen.

Following the coast of North Africa westwards we again find reports of Egyptian material with some frequency in Algeria,[22] and continuing westward we reach Morocco, where the Lixus scarab and others from Rabat are well known.[23]

Egyptian, Pseudoegyptian, and Egyptianizing objects are very numerous in Ibiza, particularly scarabs, and have figured in several published accounts, none at all comprehensive.[24] The name of this island should be read, it appears, 'Isle of Bes', which would explain why the image of this Egyptian god is reproduced, like a speaking symbol, on the obverse of the coins minted there.[25] In the Balearics too, in Minorca, a bronze statuette of Imhotep was discovered very recently.[26]

Thus we come to the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean slopes of which define the scope of this work. Here we can say that Egyptian and Egyptianizing material, though not on the whole numerically considerable compared with other material in the same deposits, yet has a wide and significant distribution (Maps 1-5). In the rest of the Peninsula, Egyptian, Pseudoegyptian, and Egyptianizing pieces are very numerous in Cadiz, but a great part of this material remains undescribed or badly published, hidden in the depths of the local Museum and at present inaccessible or scattered in other museums and private collections. Thus a comprehensive study is for now not a practical possibility. Such pieces are also fairly abundant in the Guadalquivir Valley, in Portugal, and on the Meseta. Among these the so-called 'Tartessus bronzes', interesting pieces with Egyptianizing features,[27] are worthy of special mention. The scarabs known at present, which were found more to the north, up the Atlantic coast, are those from the neighbourhood of the Tagus mouth, specifically the group from Alcácer do Sal[28] and the still unpublished group from Ribatejo.[29]

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[21] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, p. 440.

[22] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 36, 2, p. 224. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 37, 1, p. 136. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 40, 2, p. 263.

[23] Tarradell, *Lixus*, p. 71, Pl. 17. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, pp. 25f.

[24] Roman y Calvet, *Islas Pythiusas*. Roman, *Antigüedades*. Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*. Astruc, *MMA*, XV, pp. 110ff. Blázquez, *Zephyrus*, XXI-XXII, pp. 315ff. For a good statement of the question see Tarradell i Font, *Eivissa cartaginesa*, pp. 176ff. A comprehensive work on the Egyptian scarabs of Ibiza is at the moment in the press: Baqués, *Ampurias*, 36.

[25] Solà Solé, *Sefarad*, XVI, pp. 325ff.

[26] Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca y Montaner, *Imhotep* = Rosselló, Sánchez-Cuenca and Montaner, *Mayurqa*, XII, pp. 123ff.

2. TYPOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN AND PSEUDOEGYPTIAN MATERIAL

The normally accepted classification, which is used for example by Vercoutter in his monograph on the Carthage pieces, distinguishes between *Egyptian* and *Egyptianizing* objects. I have thought it convenient to add a third category to these, *Pseudoegyptian*. Accordingly, in agreement with the criterion I have been following all along, *Egyptian* objects are those actually manufactured in Egypt. *Pseudoegyptian* objects are those which its external morphology looks Egyptian, but which can be qualified on one criterion or another as not really of Egyptian manufacture. Finally, *Egyptianizing* objects are those which are manifestly non-Egyptian but which have some feature or are under some influence connecting them in one way or another with Egypt. It is of course very difficult *a priori* to assign distinctive "Egyptian" or "Pseudoegyptian" characters to objects. For that reason the two categories must be distinguished piece by piece, as I have done in Part 2, which is devoted to their detailed study. Even so, there are occasions when it would be very risky if not impossible to come down on one side or the other. So for the moment we have no alternative but to make a prior grouping of "Egyptian" and "Pseudoegyptian" objects, and then to classify them typologically and assign generic characteristics to each group. The "Egyptianizing" objects, on the other hand, clearly distinct as they in general are from the first two groups, can be described as belonging to an entirely distinct group on their own.

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[27] García y Bellido, *V SIPP*, pp. 163ff.

[28] Bosch, *Etnologia*, pp. 105, 266, fig. 216 (p. 265). Paixão, *A. II CNA*, I, pp. 309ff.

[29] Consisting of a scarab and a scaraboid found by Hipólito Cabaço in a Roman deposit. I am indebted for this information, together with photographs of the pieces, to Maria Amelia Pereira de Silva Pinto. A map showing the centres of influence of Egyptian cults in the Iberian Peninsula will be found in Leclant, *IBIS*, 2, folding map at the back of the book.

I must point out that the classification here adopted is purely *ad hoc*, that is to say, it is designed exclusively for the Egyptian, Pseudoegyptian, and Egyptianizing material to be met with on the Iberian Mediterranean littoral. Important categories of Egyptian objects, as for instance the funerary amulets which are not met with in the regions here studied, are not even mentioned. Other objects which could form distinct groups on their own, like the bronze or the terracotta statuettes, have here been grouped together, owing to their scarcity of occurrence. On the other hand, nobody supposes that scarabs and scaraboids are anything but amulets. Yet in view of their overwhelming numbers by comparison with other Egyptian amulets, I have preferred to separate them and put them in typological groups on their own. With the Egyptianizing material, too, I have observed a similar criterion, so that there is no point in here looking for a group of Egyptianizing objects as important as that formed by the so-called "Tartessian bronzes", for the simple reason that there are none in the geographical area studied in this book.

Finally, I must point to the existence of certain groups of material which for various reasons I do not here study, and others which I shall only briefly notice. These are primarily the glass or composition* objects, whether necklace beads (among them the apotropaic heads with big eyes) or polychrome vessels. There are also the coins of

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* In this translation, with the author's concurrence, I have used "composition" as a general equivalent of the Spanish *pasta de vidrio* (French *pâte de verre*). This follows current labelling practice at the British Museum where "composition" now usually, though not always, replaces "faience" and the term "glass paste" has been almost eliminated, doubtless in obedience to the line of thought developed by Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians*, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 240 n. 197. Thus my use of "composition" may sometimes cover objects which according to Harden's rule could be described simply as "glass". On the rare occasions when the author here uses the term "faience" I have done so too. Otherwise, "glazed composition" stands simply for *pasta vidriada* and "glazed ware" for *cerámica vidriada*. Regarding "steatite", which scarcely occurs in this book, see below, pp. 55-56 (*Translator*).

Ibiza showing on one face the image of the Egyptian god Bes, and finally there are the so-called "braziers", with handles in the form of hands.

A. *Pendants*

Under this title I group a series of small objects intended to be worn suspended and exert some protective force over the wearer. Thus all of them may be considered broadly as amulets. Some of them, the scarabs in particular, can be mounted in a ring, but in this form too they may be worn suspended. I distinguish four types of pendants: a) Scarabs; b) Scaraboids; c) Amulets; d) Trinkets.

a) *Scarabs*

I shall not spend too much time here either on the significance of the scarab in Egyptian mythology, or on its description as an amulet, since this would be simply to repeat what has already been said elsewhere. I shall therefore confine myself to a very rapid treatment, merely referring the interested reader to Vercoutter's extensive chapter on the subject.[30]

As is well known the scarab is nothing more than a seal-amulet reproducing the form of a dung-beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*), which in ancient Egypt was called *kheprer* and for that reason was used in hieroglyphs to denote the verb *kheper*, which had a meaning more or less like that of "become". Thus the god Khepri was worshipped in Heliopolis as the rising sun, alongside Re, the sun in the fullness of noon, and Atum, the setting sun. Khepri was represented by a sacred beetle pushing over the horizon the red sphere of the morning sun, born in spontaneous generation like the dung-beetles themselves. According to the Egyptian tradition related by Plutarch, these beetles were all male and born spontaneously from the balls of earth which they themselves had made. Thus the scarab reproduces on its upper side the back of a beetle, with clypeus, thorax, and elytra. The insect's legs are more or less indicated, resting on a base, the back of which is the reverse of the scarab, on which various themes are engraved.

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[30] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 41 ff.

With very rare exceptions, the scarabs found in the Peninsula have a longitudinal perforation allowing them to be worn suspended.

The design on the back, of the insect's thorax and elytra, make up the so-called dorsal scheme on which Newberry and Vercoutter based their classification into six types, with subdivisions. I too have followed these in my book, indicating wherever possible the typal of dorsal scheme to which the scarabs belong.[31] However, in one particular scarab I have observed that this classification was insufficient, and I have had to create a new type, IIIb, defined as "type with elytra well defined, but without thorax". Not that I wish to give this case more importance than its due, confined as it is to a single scarab, Pseudoegyptian and very crude, but merely to record the fact. The classification of dorsal scheme types I have used is then as follows (Pl. XXV,1):

I. Without thorax or elytra.
II. With thorax indicated but without elytra.
III. With thorax well-defined but without elytra.
IIIb. With elytra well-defined but without thorax.
IV. With thorax and elytra well defined.
  a) Simple form.
  b) More evolved form.
  c) Form with elytra triply defined.
V. With thorax rounded and elytra well defined.[32]
VI. With thorax and elytra well defined and a V on each wing.

Much more significant is the classification of scarabs by their material. Again following Vercoutter, we can distinguish between glazed composition scarabs, scarabs of jasper, scarabs of cornelian, and scarabs of various materials.[33] With very rare exceptions, the glazed composition scarabs (understanding as such not only those actually made of glazed composition but also those made of burnished steatite and those of faience, virtually impossible to distinguish from one another merely at sight)[34] are of Egyptian manufacture and their dating cannot in any instance be brought lower than the 6th century. Deserving of particular attention are the scarabs of "special technique", highly individual pieces which were manufactured at Naucratis. Their dating runs from the end of the 7th to the end of the 6th century.[35] The scarabs we know in the Peninsula of green jasper or *diasprum* and those of cornelian (red) are all Pseudoegyptian, of Western manufacture and late date, somewhere in the 4th century (or some even at the beginning of the 3th). The scarabs of various materials (amber, onyx, agate, etc). are very scarce and may have been manufactured in Egypt or not, so that each individual case has to be studied.

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[31] Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 69ff. Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. XIXff. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 49f., 71ff.

[32] This type is frequently difficult to distinguish from IV: Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 73.

[33] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 74f.

In agreement with Vercoutter, who in this follows the general rule in the catalogues, the glazed composition scarabs can be classified, according to the design on their reverse, as follows:

Scarabs with royal or private names, or imitations of them;
scarabs with a divine or human representation;
scarabs with an animal subject;
scarabs with a legend in hieroglyphs;
and scarabs with registers or complex scenes.

The scarabs in jasper, cornelian, and various materials can be simply divided into "Hellenizing" and "Egyptianizing".

b) *Scaraboids*

Egyptologists call scaraboids those seal-amulets which vaguely recall the scarabs in form. They are usually amulets with a hole for suspension, and a reverse face showing the same engraved motifs as the scarabs. The back, however, does not reproduce the anatomical features of a beetle, but may assume various forms. The scaraboids, generally speaking, are made of glazed composition and manufactured in Egypt, but there are exceptions. Certain stone intaglios, for instance, can be considered as scaraboids manufactured outside Egypt, and are thus Pseudoegyptian.

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[34] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 49f.

[35] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 162.

Vercoutter distinguishes in Carthage the following types of scaraboids:[36]

1. Rectangular tablets ("pastilles").
2. Conical seals.
3. Heads.
4. Plaquettes.
5. Cowroids.
6a. Round pastilles or buttons.
6b. Lions reclining.
7. Seal-rings.

Not all these types of scaraboids are found in the Peninsula. I have however accepted the classification in my work, all except the plaquettes and seal-rings. The plaquettes are morphologically too different from the scaraboids, as Vercoutter himself recognises,[37] and I have preferred to classify them among the amulets. The seal-rings are defined by Vercoutter as rectangular "pastilles" mounted in a finger-ring.[38] In the Peninsula we also have scarabs and scaraboids mounted in rings, but they do not for that reason cease to be scarabs and scaraboids, and similarly I have felt that there was no reason to regard a rectangular seal as a separate type of scaraboids merely because it was mounted in a ring.

Accordingly, I have classified the scaraboids of the Mediterranean Peninsular littoral as follows:

Rectangular pastilles: glazed composition tablets of rectangular shape with the "back" completely plain and the reverse engraved with inscriptions.

Heads:[39] scaraboids with a representation on their "back" (obverse) of a head wearing a big cap.

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[36] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 92f., 176ff.

[37] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 200.

[38] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 208.

[39] No instance of a conical seal is here known to us. I was told, for example, of a collection of seals found in Cartagena and at present in the F. Iñiguez Collection (Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248), but Professor J.Mª. Blázquez, who has seen these still unpublished pieces informs me that they have no Egyptian features and are only gems. My efforts to contact Señor Iñiguez himself have so far been fruitless. I thank Professor Blázquez for her information.

Cowroids: an English made-up word by which Egyptologists designate certain scaraboids which were a primitive imitation of the cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta*). Subsequently their original form was completely forgotten and the cowroids have on their backs decorative designs which are always original.

Round pastilles or buttons: scaraboids round in form with bulging back and no decoration. (Outside the Peninsula cases are known with a rosette as dorsal decoration).

c) *Amulets*[40]

Under this name I group a whole series of pendants of Egyptian origin or with Egyptian inscriptions, which reproduce the features of some divinity under human or animal form, or simply one of its symbols. Generally amulets are of glazed composition, though they may also be of composition and bone as well, in which case they are Pseudoegyptian. All these have a transverse hole for suspension. In this book I have classified amulets by their form as follows:

Anthropomorphic amulets: Horus, Isis, etc.
Zoomorphic amulets: Cat Bastet, Falcon Horus, etc.
Amulets reproducing some part of the human body or of an animal: Udjat eye, etc.
Amulets of different forms: *Djed* pillar, etc.

In the Peninsula none of these amulets has any inscription.

d) *Trinkets*

Some Egyptian or Pseudoegyptian amulets are made of gold or silver. Their forms are virtually identical with those of the glazed composition amulets, though limited to very specific types like the *Udjat* eyes. However, the fact that they are of some numerical importance compared with other amulets, together with the distinctive feature of their being made of precious metal, has persuaded me to list them in a pendant group on its own.

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[40] The general typology of Egyptian amulets may be seen in Petrie, *Amulets*.

B. *Figures*

A second group of Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian objects, clearly distinct from the group of pendants, although numerically of very small importance on the Mediterranean littoral of the Peninsula, is made up of the figurines or small statuettes. Though within this group it would be theoretically possible to establish two subdivisions, in practice owing to the few examples we possess of either I have preferred to group them all under a single title.

a) *Figures of Deities*

All the Egyptian or Pseudoegyptian figurines or statuettes from the area under study are divine images. The only division which could be made refers to the material of which they are composed — terracotta or bronze. Thus we have some terracottas which represent the god Bes and have to consider as Pseudoegyptian, since they are relatively abundant in the West Phoenician world and finds include even moulds for their manufacture. In bronze we know of an image of Osiris from Villaricos, but it lacks an archeological context, so that the possibility cannot be ruled out that it is of the late period, as may perhaps apply also to the image of Imhotep found recently in Minorca.

C. *Objects of Practical Use*

Under this name we group two kinds of objects clearly distinct from one another, though of very unequal importance: vessels and spoons.

a) *Vessels*

Two kinds of Egyptian vessels have reached the Mediterranean littoral of the Iberian Peninsula — alabaster jars and vessels of glazed ware or faience. Alabaster jars constitute one of the more characteristic features of Phoenician colonization on the Andalusian coast. Not only have they reached here in greater numbers than in any other region of the Western Mediterranean but the jars also are of really respectable size. Their importance is emphasized, moreover, by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, royal cartouches, and representations of divinities to be found on some of them. The only attempt at classification of this material hitherto was made by García y Bellido,[41] who published a drawing in which the jars from the Cerro de San Cristóbal at Almuñécar, and from the mouth of the Barbate, were shown all to the same scale and grouped according to forms. I have ascertained that the remaining jars also fall within the García y Bellido classification, all that is needed being names for the different types, and this I have given them. In what follows I use García y Bellido's classification, with the names which I have given each of the types. I need only remark that the first of these types had already been named by García y Bellido, and that some of the others were listed by Culican.[42] I have not, however, thought fit to retain his titles, though I shall refer to them as they occur.

Bullet Form: also called of ogival shape, shell-shaped, projectile-shaped, or torpedo-shaped.

Elongated Oval Form: with the lower part of the body wider than the upper; called by Culican "wide bag shape".

Oval Form: like the previous, only shorter.

Alabastron Form: called by Culican "narrow bag shape".

Hebenet Jars: with the lower part of the body narrower than the upper; I give these jars the name they bore in Egypt itself, where also the same form is found in pottery as well; Culican calls them "Canaanite jars".

Flat-bottomed jars: with the upper part of the body wider than the lower. Some of these jars are of amphora form.

The vessels of glazed ware or faience are all of aryballos type, with the mouth and one handle flat, the neck narrow and the body globular. The body wall may be decorated with engraved themes, usually cross-hatching. The bottom of these vessels is rounded. Along with them must be mentioned a moulded vessel in the form of a hedgehog, also with the mouth, one handle, and the base flat, coming from Empúries.

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[41] García y Bellido, *AEArq.*, 43, pp. 3ff. García y Bellido, Schubart, Niemeyer, *L'espansione fenicia*, pp. 145ff.

[42] Culican, *Levant*, 2, pp. 28ff.

b) *Spoons*

There is only one spoon known to me from the area of this study. It comes from Villaricos, is of ivory, and engraved with a cross of life. Probably it must be regarded as a Pseudoegyptian product.

3. TYPOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIANIZING MATERIAL

The Egyptianizing material studied in the present work has been classified in three groups: Intaglios, Panels, and Trinkets. The number of Egyptianizing pieces turns out to be insignificant compared with the Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian pieces.

A. *Intaglios*

Evidently I have not tried to give a complete list of the intaglios of the Mediterranean littoral of the Iberian Peninsula, which have survived in considerable numbers from the Roman period but which go back also to Greek times. Their kinship with the scarabs, especially those of stone, is limited to their technique of manufacture, and would not justify their classification as Egyptianizing pieces. Here I have listed only those intaglios, really few in number, which have some Egyptianizing type or feature in their engraving and which may be dated to pre-Roman times.

B. *Panels*

By panels we understand the ivory or bone plaques which served to decorate wooden boxes or other luxury objects. Such plaques show representations in relief, which may also be cut out of the plaque (fretwork), often with themes of Egyptian inspiration. They are very abundant in the Mediterranean as a whole, from Phoenicia to the lower Guadalquivir, through Etruria,[43] but are very scarce on the other hand in the Mediterranean littoral of the Peninsula.

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[43] See, e.g., Aubet, *Marfiles orientalizantes*, with abundant information and a bibliography.

C. *Trinkets*

Certain Phoenician and Punic trinkets have Egyptianizing features. Worthy of mention among these are the characteristic pendant roundels, one or two examples of which are known in the area here studied, with designs of clearly Egyptian inspiration.

4. OTHER MATERIAL

Some categories of material could not, for various reasons, be included in the detailed study presented in the second part of my book. But in view of their Pseudoegyptian and Egyptianizing character they should be mentioned now, however briefly. They consist first of all of necklace beads and vessels of polychrome composition; secondly, of the coins of Ibiza and Cartagena; and finally of the so-called "braziers" with handles in the form of hands.

A. *Necklace Beads and Composition Vessels*

The description covers every kind of piece made of polychrome composition, comprising both necklace beads of various forms and small ritual vessels. The beads are generally spherical or anular, with a big hole for suspension in the centre, and showing distinctively coloured specks, arranged symmetrically. Sometimes the beads have more complicated forms, the most important of which are small human heads with big eyes (Pl. XXV,3). These have sometimes been identified with the god Bes, we think without sufficient proof, although their prophylactic character is evident.

The origin of these small objects is undoubtedly Egyptian. In Egypt composition beads were being manufactured at the very least from the Vth Dynasty onwards. During the XVIIIth Dynasty production began to be on a large scale and in standardized form. The most ancient colours used were black, blue, and green.[44] The decoration of the beads and other similar objects was carried out by means of inlaid glass threads.[45] On the significance of the beads a papyrus in the MacGregor collection is very instructive. It contains a list of amulets, among which necklace beads are included as amulets themselves. The papyrus on its other side has various chapters of the *Book of the Dead* and its writing is very similar to that of the Turin Papyrus.[46] From Egypt and the Near East this type of material passed to other countries.[47] It began to reach the Western Mediterranean from the Bronze Age onwards, though in a rather haphazard manner to judge from the relatively infrequent examples from that period which have reached us.[48]

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[44] Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 207ff.

[45] Petrie, *Arts et Métiers*, pp. 140ff.

From the first millennium, however, the finds of glass composition objects begin to multiply, consisting of spherical beads, little heads, or polychrome vessels. They are particularly abundant in Phoenico-Punic deposits, or those which were under the influence of the West Phoenician colonial world. From the 4th century onward it is really unusual for a deposit in the Peninsula, North Africa, or the Mediterranean islands of the Western Mediterranean not to contain material of this type. All the same, a proper study of this whole assemblage of objects is still needed. Archaeologists in general are content simply to note its existence in one deposit or another, without further investigation.[49] In the circumstances I have to accept the view already propounded by Vercoutter[50] and corroborated by the discovery of glass factories in Dermekh[51] and Kerkuan:[52] The production and distribution of polychrome glass objects in the first millennium must have been in Phoenician and Punic hands, at least in the Western Mediterranean. Its remote and almost forgotten Egyptianism excuses us from going into it more closely.

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[46] Capart, *ZÄS*, 45, pp. 14ff.

[47] Stone and Thomas, *PPSoc.*, XXII, pp. 37ff.

[48] Charles, *CLPA*, 12, II, pp. 181ff. The up-to-date bibliography of the finds of glass paste beads from the Bronze Age in Spain and France is in Cura, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 213ff. and in Dedet, *RANarb.*, VIII, pp. 10f. (fig. 10 No. 3 and fig. 12) and 20f.

[49] The sole exception worth mentioning here is Vall de Pla, *Miscelánea Pericot*, pp. 101ff., with plentiful documentation and bibliography.

[50] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 342.

[51] Harden, *Los fenicios*, pp. 181f. Vall de Pla, *Miscelánea Pericot*, p. 110.

[52] Leclant, *Orientalia*, 42, 3, p. 440.

B. *Coins of Ibiza and Carthaginian Coins with Uraeus*

The coinage of Ibiza, which made its appearance at the end of the fourth century, regularly shows on its obverse the image of the god Bes, as a speaking emblem of the island in which it was issued. In fact, all the data we now possess on this question are overwhelmingly conclusive. These coins were in fact struck in Ibiza, as is proved by their inscriptions, the location of most of the finds, and the fact that the oldest issues, without inscriptions, are attested solely by pieces found in Ibiza itself.[53] The Phoenico-Punic inscription they bear reading *'ybšm*, undoubtedly means "Isle of Bes".[54] Iconographically, the portly figure of the obverse, with its bandy legs, a weapon in one hand and a snake in the other, and a plume of feathers on its head, is quite certainly the figure of Bes.[55] Finally the archaeological evidence of a cult of this Egyptian deity in Ibiza is fairly plentiful.

For all these reasons, the coinage of Ibiza must be considered as "Egyptianizing". However, the study of this material is far removed from the design of my present book and technically outside my competence. Moreover, though the Ibiza coinage achieved a considerable diffusion in the Peninsula,[56] this was more especially in Roman times. In fact only two monetary issues from Ibiza certainly reached the Peninsula in the Pre-Roman period. This was at the end of the third century, probably during the rule of the Barcas and the Second Punic War. Apart from these only two doubtful finds can be quoted, datable to the beginning of the third century, one from Cartagena[57] and one from Tortosa.[58] And today it is uncertain whether the two cases do not refer to the same coin. However, there is always a possibility that new finds will be made.

The two well-documented issues in the Peninsula at the end of the 3rd century are one of silver and one of bronze (Pls XXVI-XXVII,1).

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[53] On all these questions see Campo, *Monedas*. Here we should like to thank Doctor Marta Campo for her help in preparing this chapter.

[54] Solà Solé, *Sefarad*, XVI, pp. 325ff.

[55] On the god Bes, see Ballod, *Prolegomena*.

[56] Balil, *Caesaraugusta*, 7-8, pp. 110ff. See also Beltran, *I^{a}RHEAPI*, pp. 271ff. Campo, *Monedas*, map on p. 82.

[57] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, pp. 75f.

[58] Guadan, *Monedas de plata*, I, pp. 79f.

The first has the image of Bes on the obverse, and a bull walking to the left on the reverse. The second again has the image of Bes on the obverse and a bull charging to the left on the reverse. Both issues are without inscriptions or monetary symbols. The known localities of discovery in the Peninsula are as follows: Empúries, 1 isolated coin,[59] and 3 in the Víctor Català collection;[60] Puig de Sant Andreu (Ullastret), 3 coins;[61] Burriac, 1 coin;[62] Turó de la Rovira (Barcelona), 1 coin;[63] Lérida, 1 coin;[64] Valera de Arriba (Cuenca), 1 coin;[65] Moixent, 2 coins;[66] L'Albufereta d'Alacant, 14 coins;[67] finally Cadiz, where 2 coins are known, from the end of the 3rd century.[68]

We must consider also another class of coins. This is a very scarce group of Carthaginian coins belonging to Villaronga's Class V, on the reverse of which appears a standing horse, with above it a radiate Sun-disk flanked by two *uraei* crowned each in their turn by a sun-disk (Pl. XXVII,2). These are evidently of Egyptian origin. The horse is interpreted as a solar symbol and thus the whole design of the reverse on coins of this class is interpreted as a closely woven piece of solar symbolism.[69] Only three examples of the class are known, all in silver. They were found in 1864 in Cheste, where they formed part of an important money treasure.[70] On their obverse they have a male head, probably the image of Eshmun-Adonis. Villaronga thinks they must have been minted in the south-east of the Peninsula, probably in Carthago Nova,[71] in the initial period of the Barcid Conquest in 237-227.[72]

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[59] Mateu, *Ampurias*, VI, p. 225, No. LXXIII. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 67.

[60] Maluquer, "*Víctor Catalá*", pp. 65f. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 67.

[61] Oliva, *Ullastret²*, p. 79, fig. 85,1 (p. 71). Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 1-2, p. 246, fig. 73-1; 2, pp. 93 and 95, fig. 75, p. 143, fig. 48-1. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 80.

[62] Ribas, *Origens*, p. 43. Guadan, *Numismática ibérica*, p. 87. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 68.

[63] Colominas, *Ampurias*, VII-VIII, p. 207. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 80.

[64] Mateu, *Ampurias*, IV, p. 217, No. I. Balil, *Caesaraugusta*, 7-8, p. 111. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 74.

[65] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, pp. 86ff. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 66.

[66] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, pp. 76f. Campo, *Monedas*, pp. 64f.

[67] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 139. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 73.

[68] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, p. 78. Campo, *Monedas*, p. 64.

[69] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, pp. 65f., Pl. I, X.

[70] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, pp. 74f.

[71] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, p. 126.

[72] Villaronga, *Monedas hispano-cartaginesas*, p. 136.

In any case the Barcas did not take the symbol of the sun-disk with the two *uraei* directly from Egypt, since it also appears in electrum, silver, and bronze coins of Carthage, almost contemporary with these from the Peninsula.[73]

The occurrence of Punic money with Egyptianizing features — Bes, sun-disk with *uraei* — from the second half of the third century is very interesting, since it is a proof of the persistence and depth of Egyptian religious influence in the West Phoenician world up to the times immediately preceding the Roman conquest.

C. *"Braziers" with Handles in the Form of Hands*

In the protohistoric world of the Iberian Peninsula there existed certain curious ritual receptacles of metal, commonly called "braziers" by the archaeologists because of their form. Their most distinctive feature is their two movable handles each ending in a hand with the fingers extended and joined as if they were catching hold of the receptacle.

A number of studies of the "braziers" have been made by Cuadrado,[74] who in a recent complete work has published his catalogue of those found in the Peninsula (Pl. XXVIII).[75] Thus, following Cuadrado, we can enumerate the following finds in the Mediterranean littoral of the Peninsula: El Castellet de Banyoles (Tivissa), 2 (Cuadrado's Nos. 20 & 21); *oppidum* of Azaila, 1 (No. 15); La Bastida de les Alcuses (Moixent), 2 (Nos. 13 & 14); L'Albufereta d'Alacant, 2 (Nos. 11 & 12); El Puntal de Salines, 1 (No. 26); El Molar, 2 (Nos. 9 & 10); Castillo de Monteagudo, 1 (No. 25); Santuario de la Luz (Algezares), 1 (No. 7); El Cigarralejo (Mula), 1 (No. 8); Ronda la Vieja, 1 (No. 27). These receptacles are also abundant in the Guadalquivir valley and the Western Meseta, one or two having also been found in Portugal.[76] Cuadrado classified these pieces in two types and assigned to them a very long history, which over all would extend from the 7th to 2nd centuries.

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[73] Jenkins and Lewis, *Carthaginian Coins*, Pl. 19, 20 & 21; Group 10, coins with obv. head of goddess and rev. horse and sun-disk with *uraeus*; Pl. 27, No. 4; Nos. 3, 11 & 12, coins of silver and copper.

[74] Cuadrado, *AEArq.*, XXXIX, 93-94, pp. 52ff.

[75] Cuadrado, *Recipientes rituales*, pp. 9ff.

[76] Cf. the distribution map published by Cuadrado, *Recipientes rituales*, p. 64, fig. 17.

The most important point for our present concerns, which is why I have introduced them here, is that Cuadrado himself has attributed an Eastern origin to the "braziers", probably Egyptian, though basing himself unfortunately on very few prototypes.[77] More recently Culican has been able to strengthen the case with new material.[78] From which it does seem that provisionally we have to accept an Egyptian origin for the prototypes of the ritual receptacles with handles ending in hands. It seems, however, that the initial idea was transformed and adapted *in situ*, the "braziers" themselves being products of Peninsular metal work. I myself am not completely convinced that it was the Egyptian prototypes which were copied in the Peninsula, and the question must remain open pending further research.

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[77] Cuadrado, *Recipientes rituales*, pp. 55ff. and especially p. 62.

[78] Culican, *Zephyrus*, XXI-XXII, pp. 309ff.

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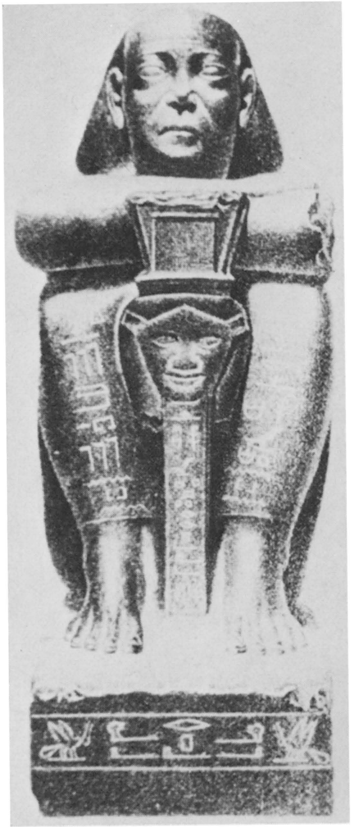
PLATE I



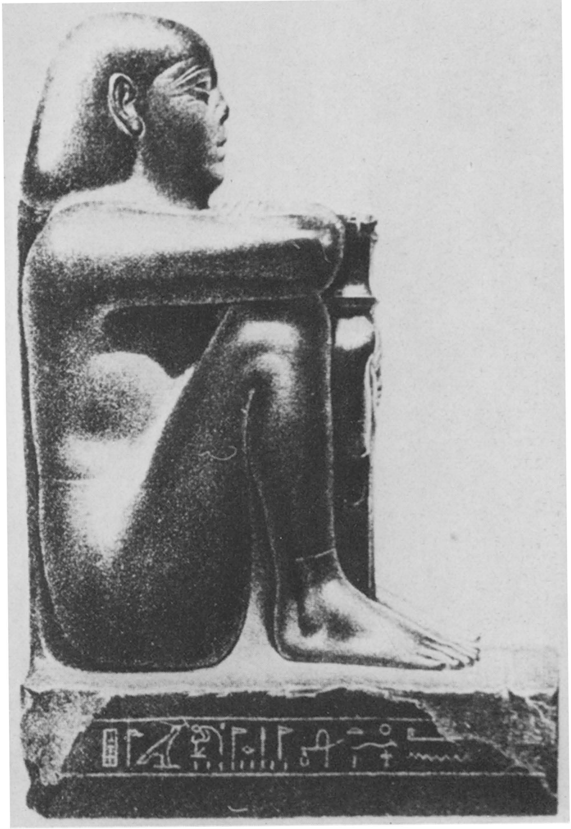


PLATE II

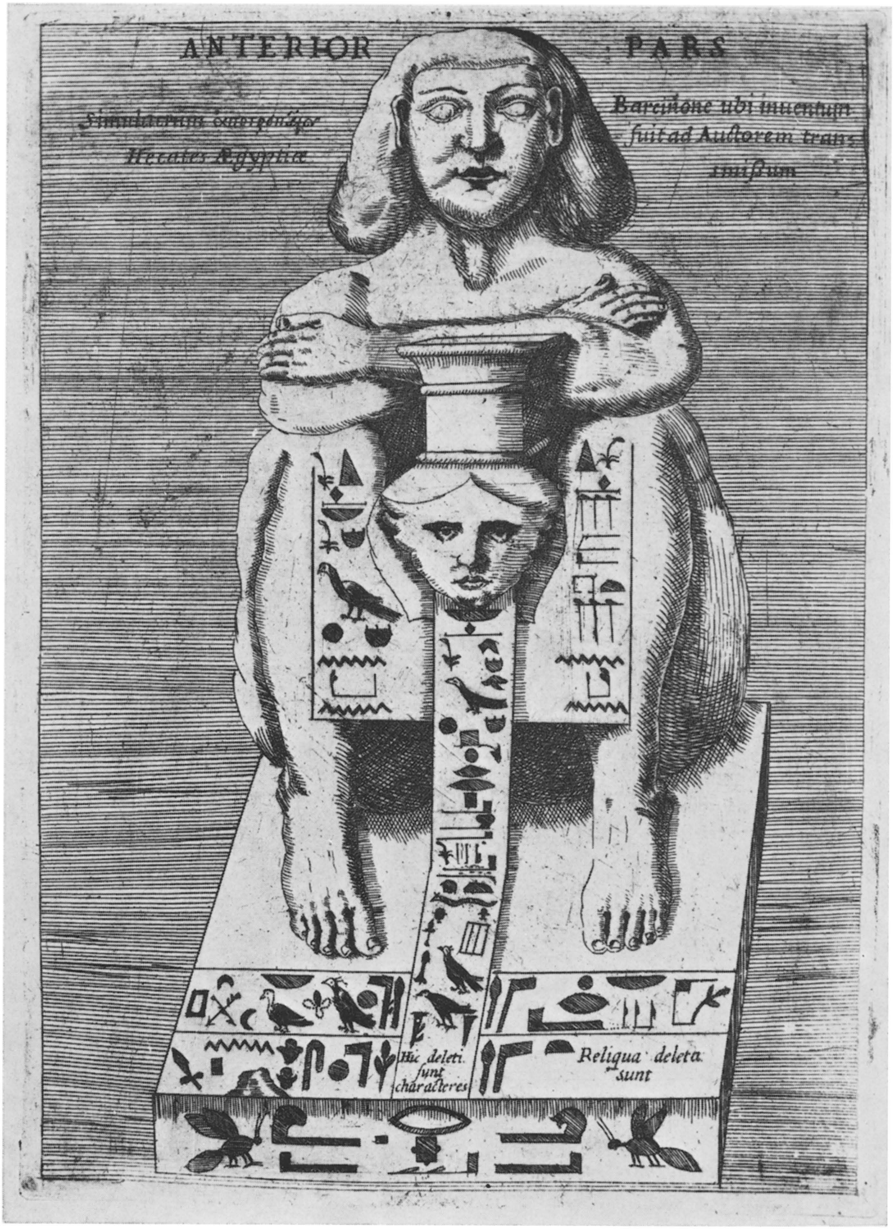
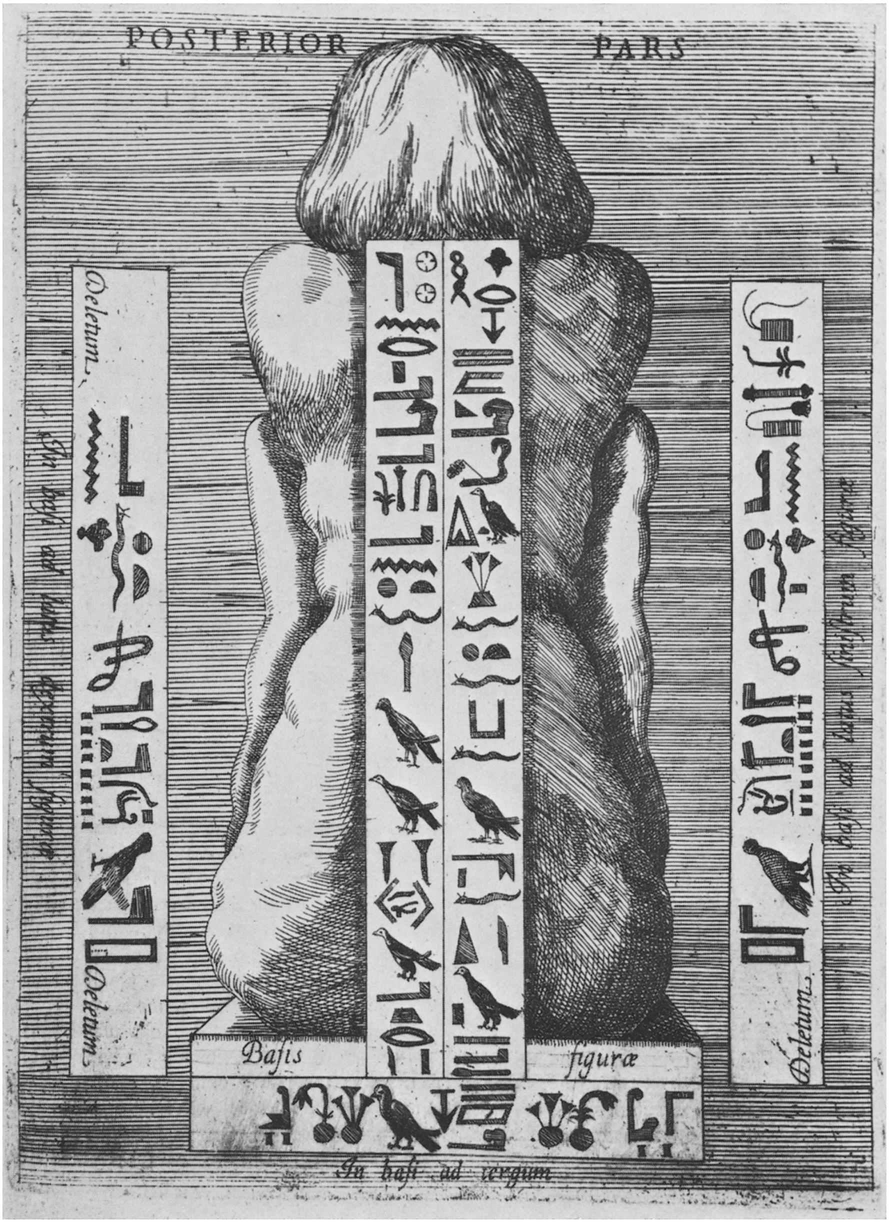

ANTERIOR PARS
Simulacrum ἀποτρόπαιον
Hecates Ægyptiæ
Barcinone ubi inuentum
ſuit ad Auctorem tranſ
miſſum
Hic deleti ſunt characteres
Reliqua deleta sunt

PLATE III


POSTERIOR PARS
Deletum.
In baſi ad latus dextrum figuræ
Deletum.
Baſis
figuræ
In baſi ad tergum
In baſi ad latus ſiniſtrum figuræ
Deletum.

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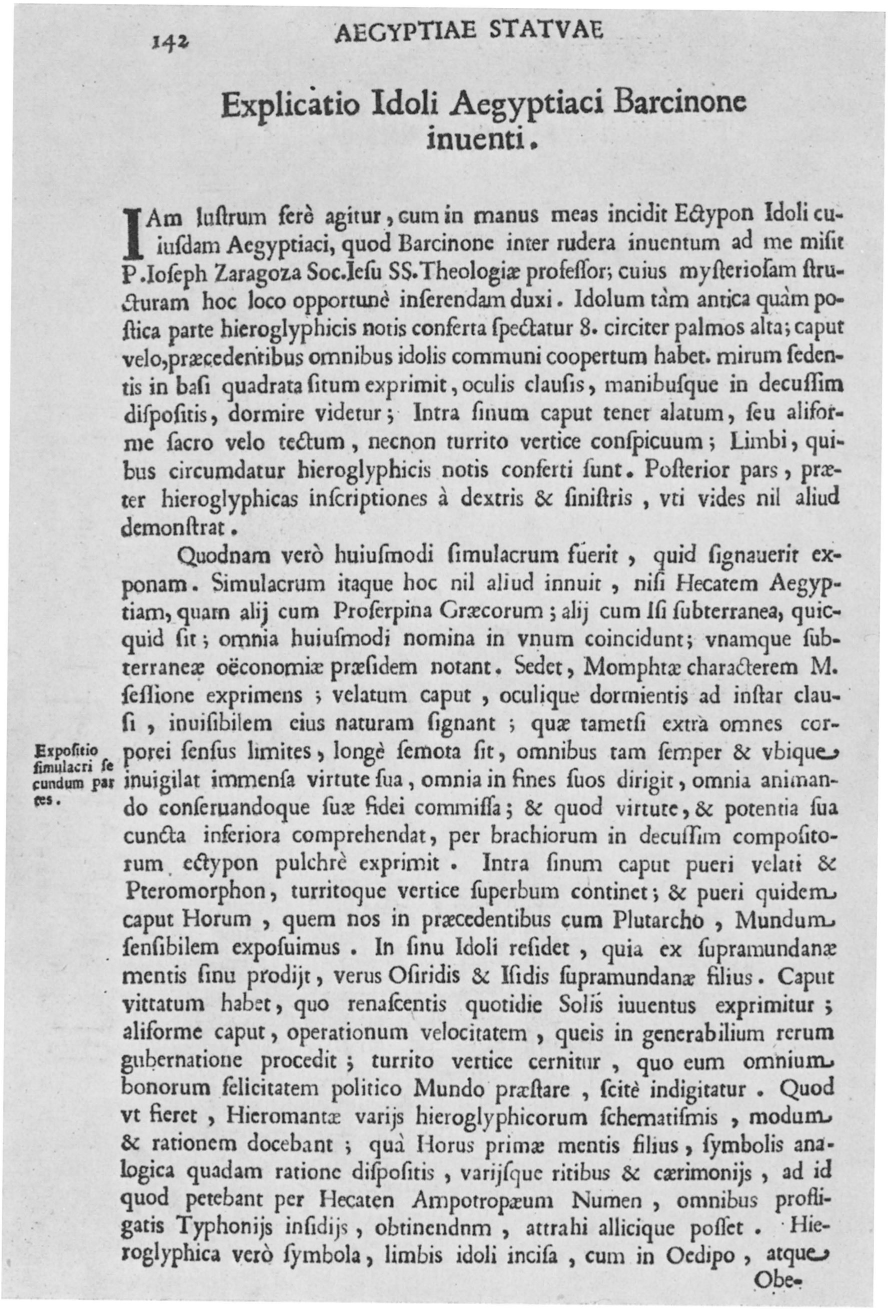


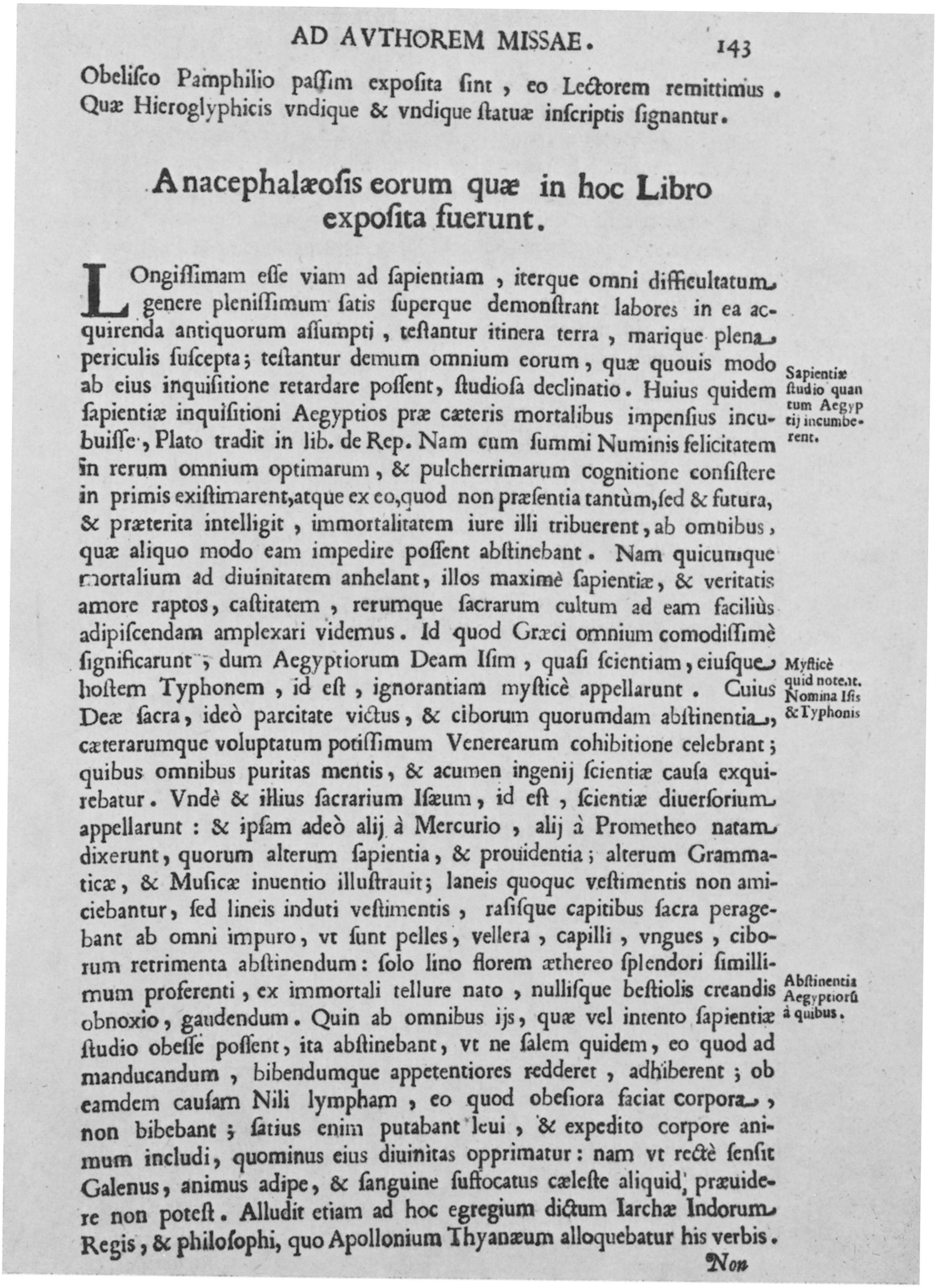
Explicatio Idoli Aegyptiaci Barcinone inuenti.

IAm luſtrum ferè agitur, cum in manus meas incidit Ectypon Idoli cuiuſdam Aegyptiaci, quod Barcinone inter rudera inuentum ad me miſit P.Ioſeph Zaragoza Soc.Ieſu SS.Theologiæ profeſſor; cuius myſterioſam ſtructuram hoc loco opportunè inſerendam duxi. Idolum tàm antica quàm poſtica parte hieroglyphicis notis conſerta ſpectatur 8. circiter palmos alta; caput velo, præcedentibus omnibus idolis communi coopertum habet. mirum ſedentis in baſi quadrata ſitum exprimit, oculis clauſis, manibuſque in decuſſim diſpoſitis, dormire videtur; Intra ſinum caput tenet alatum, ſeu aliforme ſacro velo tectum, necnon turrito vertice conſpicuum; Limbi, quibus circumdatur hieroglyphicis notis conferti ſunt. Poſterior pars, præter hieroglyphicas inſcriptiones à dextris & ſiniſtris, vti vides nil aliud demonſtrat.

Quodnam verò huiuſmodi ſimulacrum fuerit, quid ſignauerit exponam. Simulacrum itaque hoc nil aliud innuit, niſi Hecatem Aegyptiam, quam alij cum Proſerpina Græcorum; alij cum Iſi ſubterranea, quicquid ſit; omnia huiuſmodi nomina in vnum coincidunt; vnamque ſubterraneæ oëconomiæ præſidem notant. Sedet, Momphtæ characterem M. ſeſſione exprimens; velatum caput, oculique dormientis ad inſtar clauſi, inuiſibilem eius naturam ſignant; quæ tametſi extrà omnes corporei ſenſus limites, longè ſemota ſit, omnibus tam ſemper & vbique inuigilat immenſa virtute ſua, omnia in fines ſuos dirigit, omnia animando conſeruandoque ſuæ fidei commiſſa; & quod virtute, & potentia ſua cuncta inferiora comprehendat, per brachiorum in decuſſim compoſitorum ectypon pulchrè exprimit. Intra ſinum caput pueri velati & Pteromorphon, turritoque vertice ſuperbum continet; & pueri quidem caput Horum, quem nos in præcedentibus cum Plutarcho, Mundum ſenſibilem expoſuimus. In ſinu Idoli reſidet, quia ex ſupramundanæ mentis ſinu prodijt, verus Oſiridis & Iſidis ſupramundanæ filius. Caput vittatum habet, quo renaſcentis quotidie Solis iuuentus exprimitur; aliforme caput, operationum velocitatem, queis in generabilium rerum gubernatione procedit; turrito vertice cernitur, quo eum omnium bonorum felicitatem politico Mundo præſtare, ſcitè indigitatur. Quod vt fieret, Hieromantæ varijs hieroglyphicorum ſchematiſmis, modum & rationem docebant; quà Horus primæ mentis filius, ſymbolis analogica quadam ratione diſpoſitis, varijſque ritibus & cærimonijs, ad id quod petebant per Hecaten Ampotropæum Numen, omnibus profligatis Typhonijs inſidijs, obtinendnm, attrahi alliciqueque poſſet. Hieroglyphica verò ſymbola, limbis idoli inciſa, cum in Oedipo, atque

Expoſitio ſimulacri ſecundum partes.

Obe-



Obeliſco Pamphilio paſſim expoſita ſint, eo Lectorem remittimus. Quæ Hieroglyphicis vndique & vndique ſtatuæ inſcriptis ſignantur.

Anacephalæoſis eorum quæ in hoc Libro expoſita fuerunt.

LOngiſſimam eſſe viam ad ſapientiam, iterque omni difficultatum genere pleniſſimum ſatis ſuperque demonſtrant labores in ea acquirenda antiquorum aſſumpti, teſtantur itinera terra, marique plena periculis ſuſcepta; teſtantur demum omnium eorum, quæ quouis modo ab eius inquiſitione retardare poſſent, ſtudioſa declinatio. Huius quidem ſapientiæ inquiſitioni Aegyptios præ cæteris mortalibus impenſius incubuiſſe, Plato tradit in lib. de Rep. Nam cum ſummi Numinis felicitatem in rerum omnium optimarum, & pulcherrimarum cognitione conſiſtere in primis exiſtimarent,atque ex eo,quod non præſentia tantùm,ſed & futura, & præterita intelligit, immortalitatem iure illi tribuerent, ab omnibus, quæ aliquo modo eam impedire poſſent abſtinebant. Nam quicumque mortalium ad diuinitatem anhelant, illos maximè ſapientiæ, & veritatis amore raptos, caſtitatem, rerumque ſacrarum cultum ad eam faciliùs adipiſcendam amplexari videmus. Id quod Græci omnium comodiſſimè ſignificarunt; dum Aegyptiorum Deam Iſim, quaſi ſcientiam, eiuſque hoſtem Typhonem, id eſt, ignorantiam myſticè appellarunt. Cuius Deæ ſacra, ideò parcitate victus, & ciborum quorumdam abſtinentia, cæterarumque voluptatum potiſſimum Venerearum cohibitione celebrant; quibus omnibus puritas mentis, & acumen ingenij ſcientiæ cauſa exquirebatur. Vndè & illius ſacrarium Iſæum, id eſt, ſcientiæ diuerſorium appellarunt: & ipſam adeò alij à Mercurio, alij à Prometheo natam dixerunt, quorum alterum ſapientia, & prouidentia; alterum Grammaticæ, & Muſicæ inuentio illuſtrauit; laneis quoque veſtimentis non amiciebantur, ſed lineis induti veſtimentis, raſiſque capitibus ſacra peragebant ab omni impuro, vt ſunt pelles, vellera, capilli, vngues, ciborum retrimenta abſtinendum: ſolo lino florem æthereo ſplendori ſimillimum proferenti, ex immortali tellure nato, nulliſque beſtiolis creandis obnoxio, gaudendum. Quin ab omnibus ijs, quæ vel intento ſapientiæ ſtudio obeſſe poſſent, ita abſtinebant, vt ne ſalem quidem, eo quod ad manducandum, bibendumque appetentiores redderet, adhiberent; ob eamdem cauſam Nili lympham, eo quod obeſiora faciat corpora, non bibebant; ſatius enim putabant leui, & expedito corpore animum includi, quominus eius diuinitas opprimatur: nam vt rectè ſenſit Galenus, animus adipe, & ſanguine ſuffocatus cæleſte aliquid præuidere non poteſt. Alludit etiam ad hoc egregium dictum Iarchæ Indorum Regis, & philoſophi, quo Apollonium Thyanæum alloquebatur his verbis.

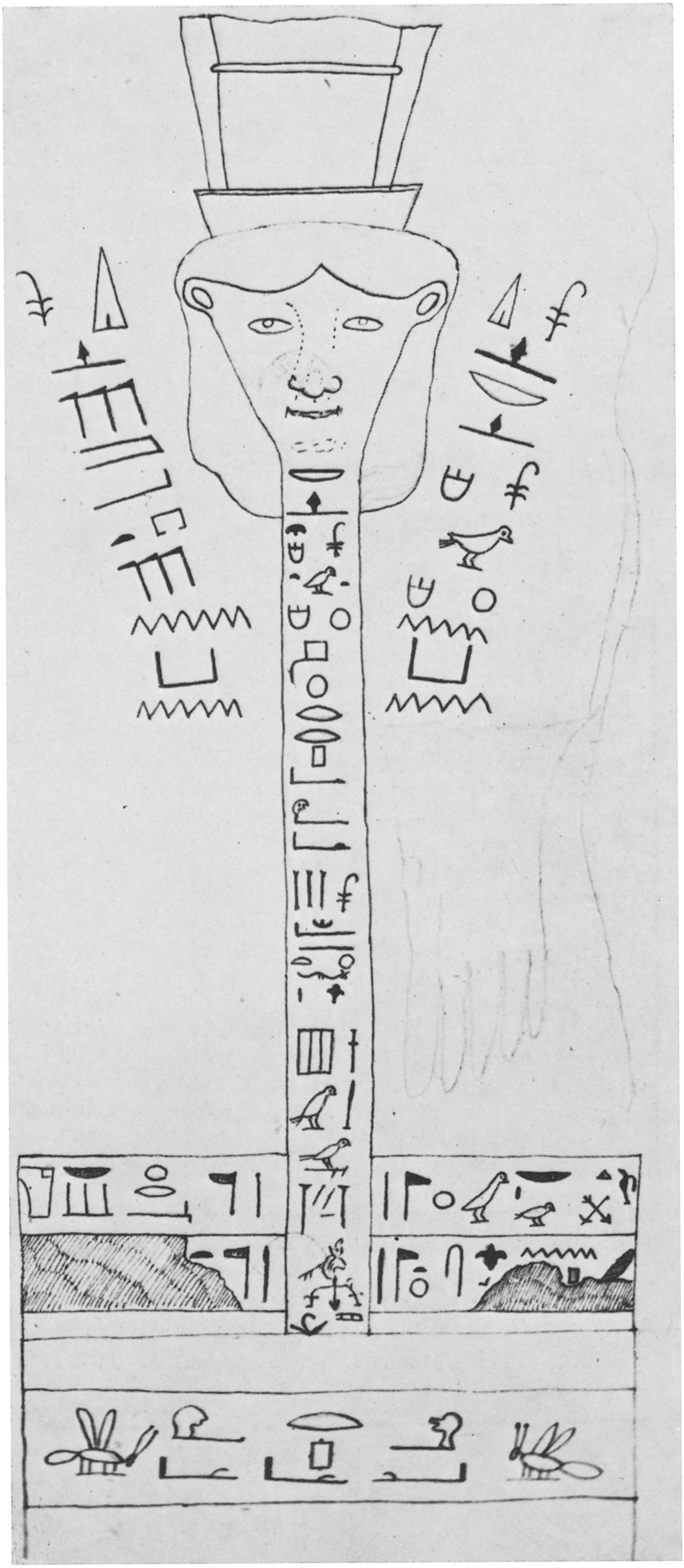
Sapientiæ ſtudio quantum Aegyptij incumberent.

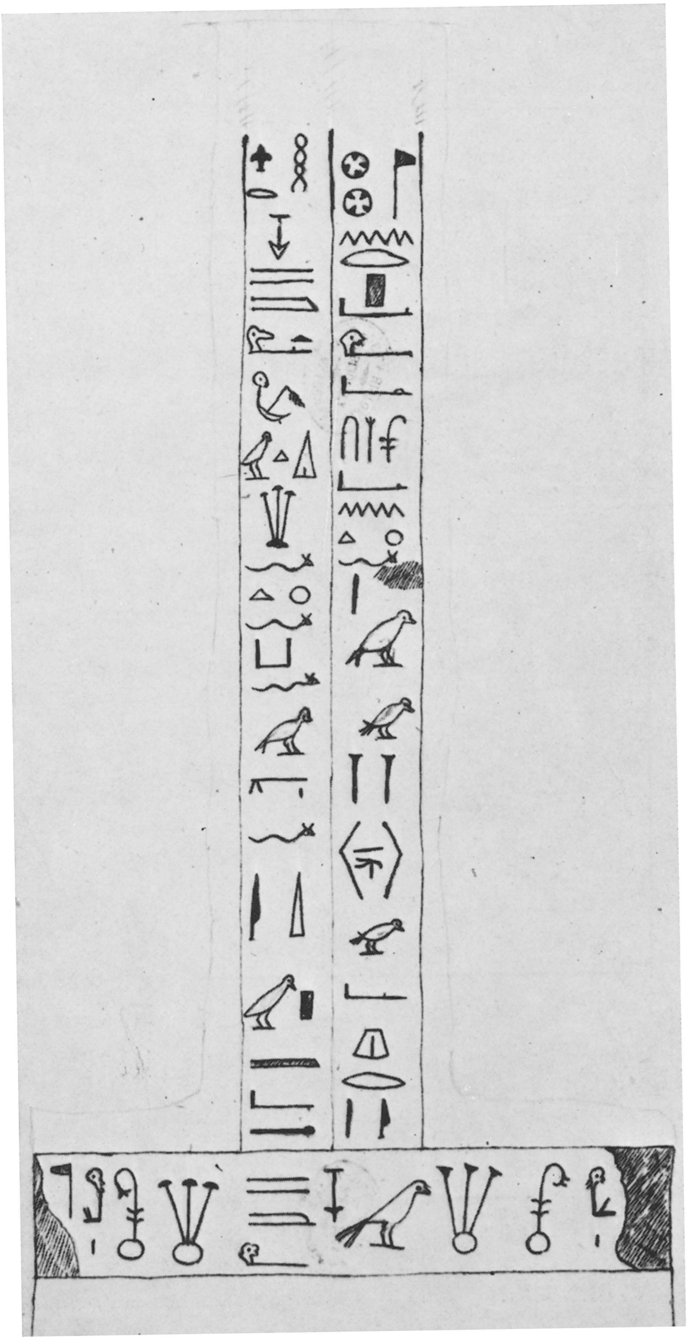
Myſticè quid notent. Nomina Iſis & Typhonis

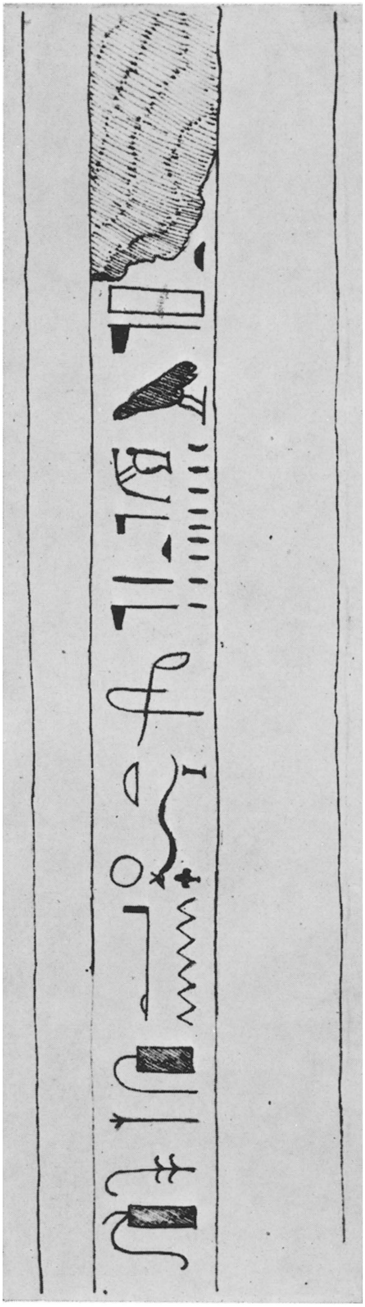
Abſtinentia Aegyptiorũ à quibus.

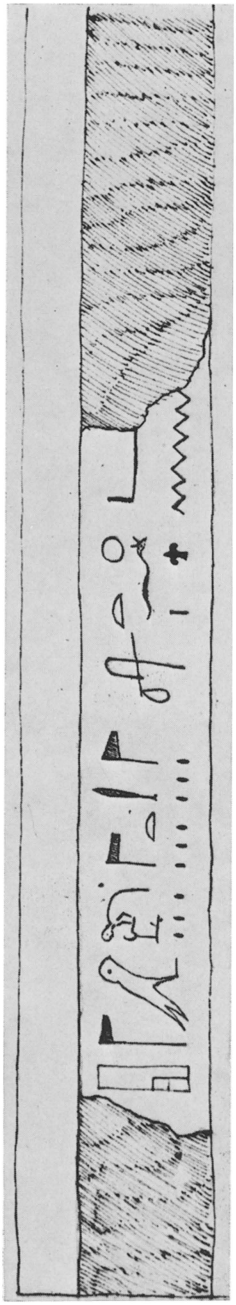
Non

PLATE VI









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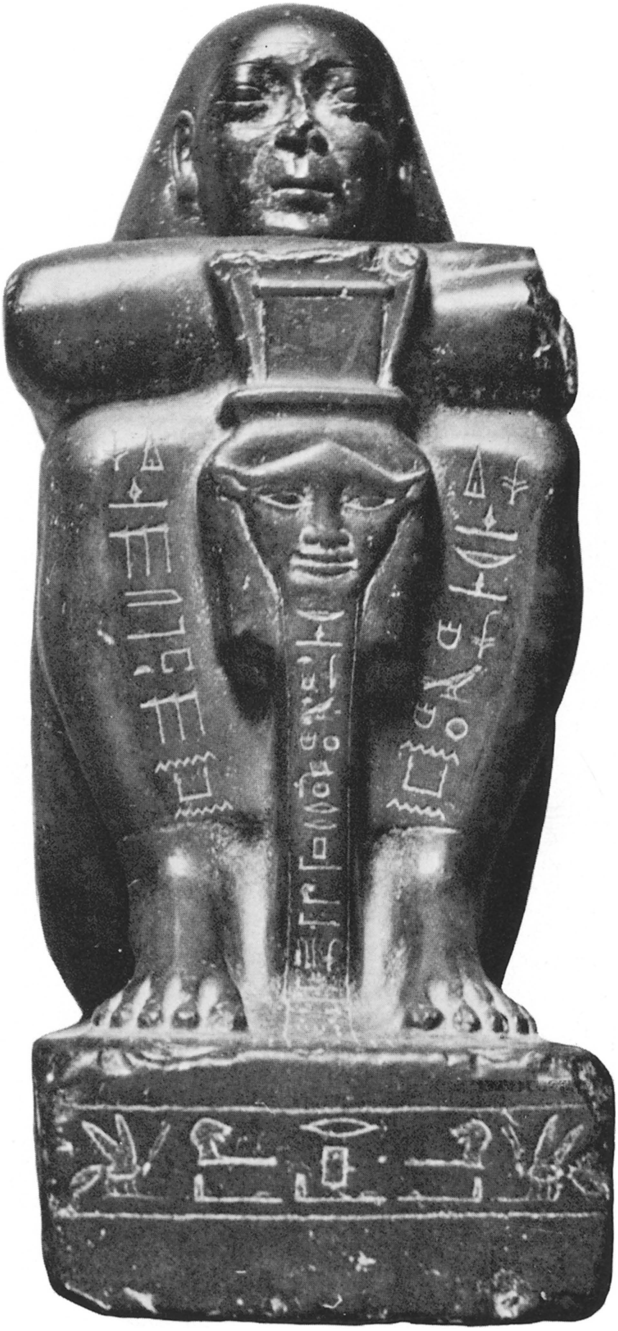

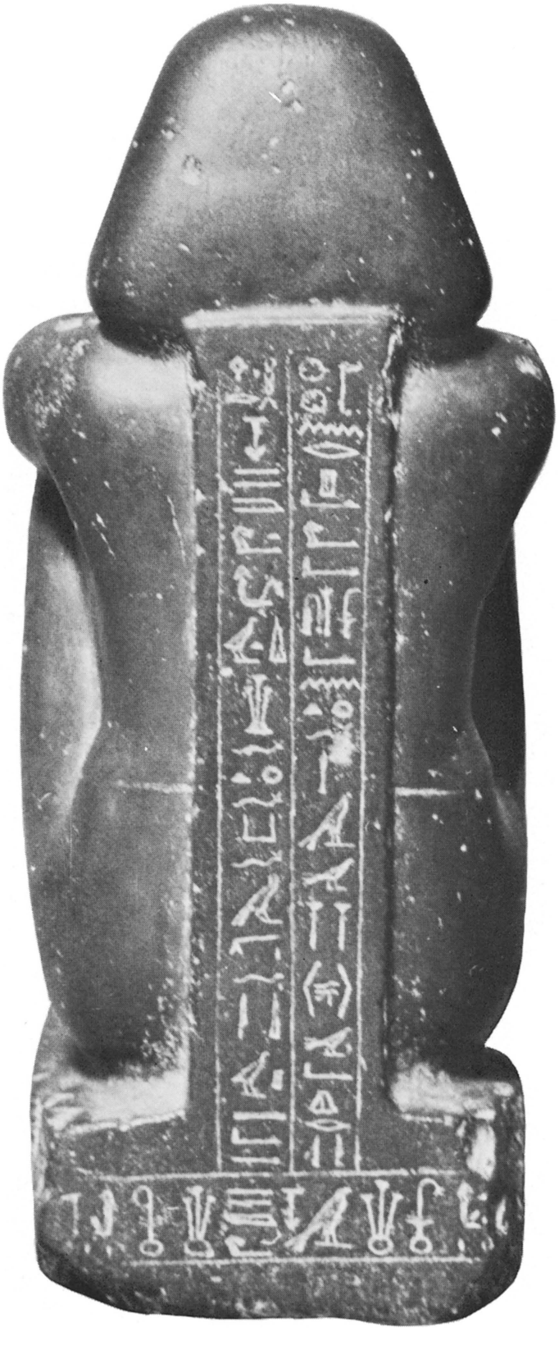

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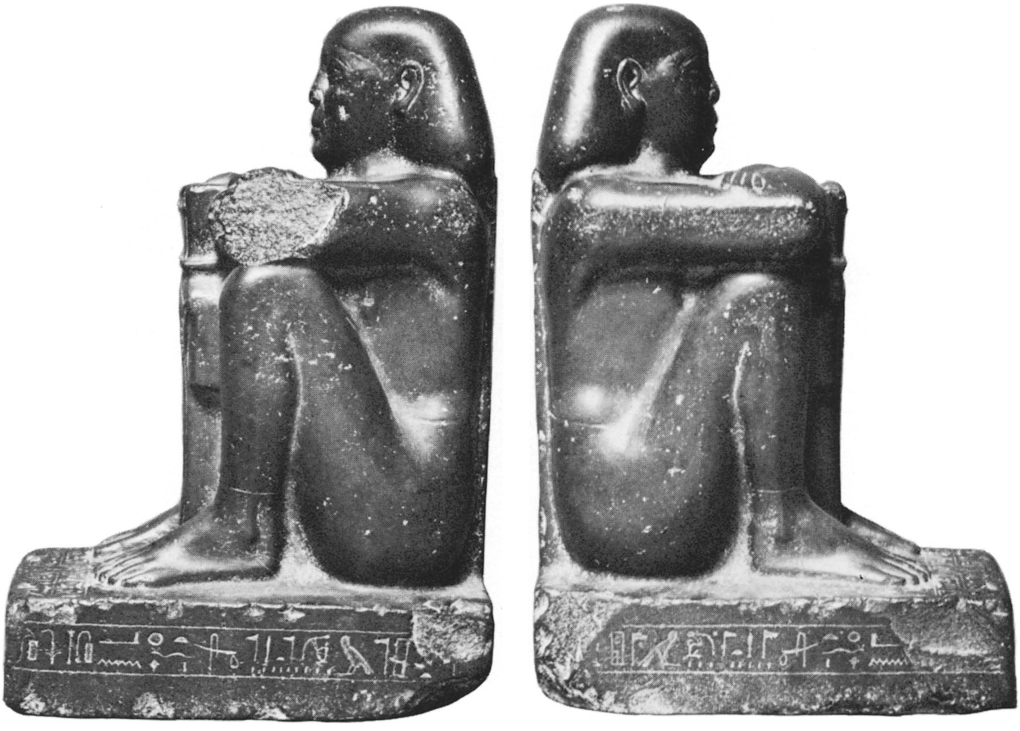

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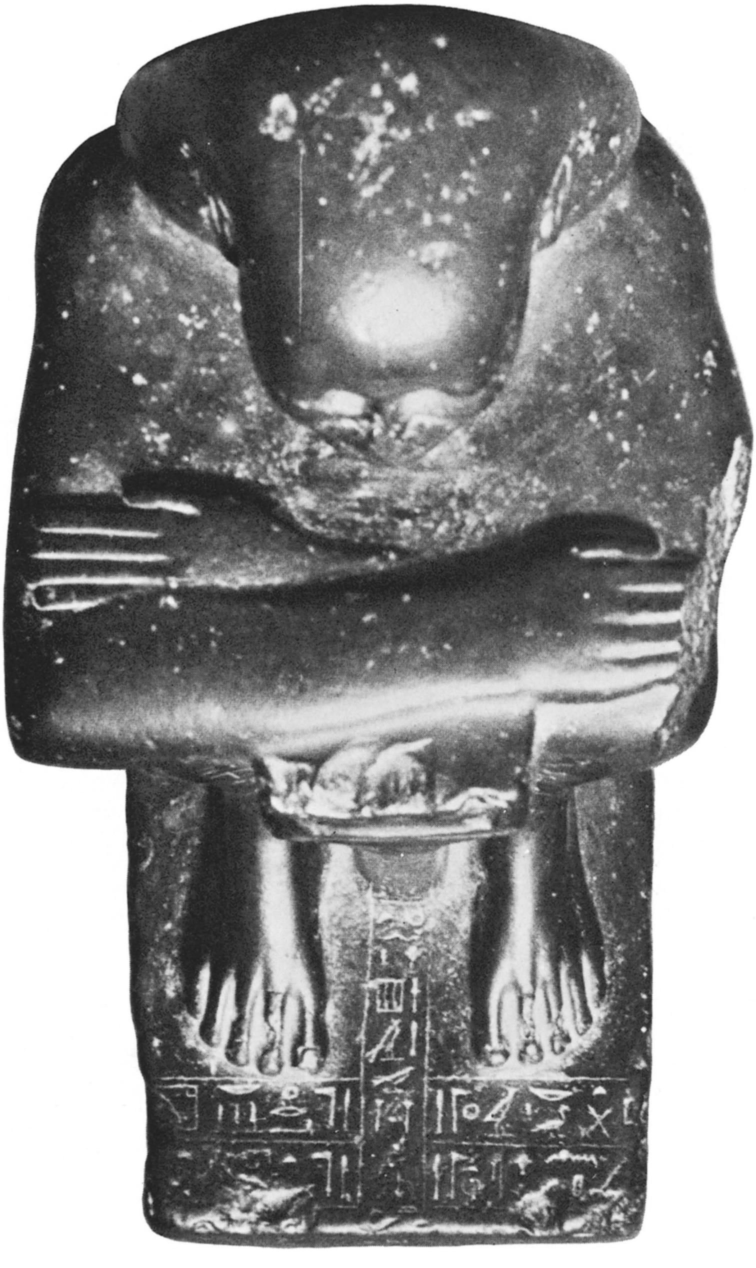

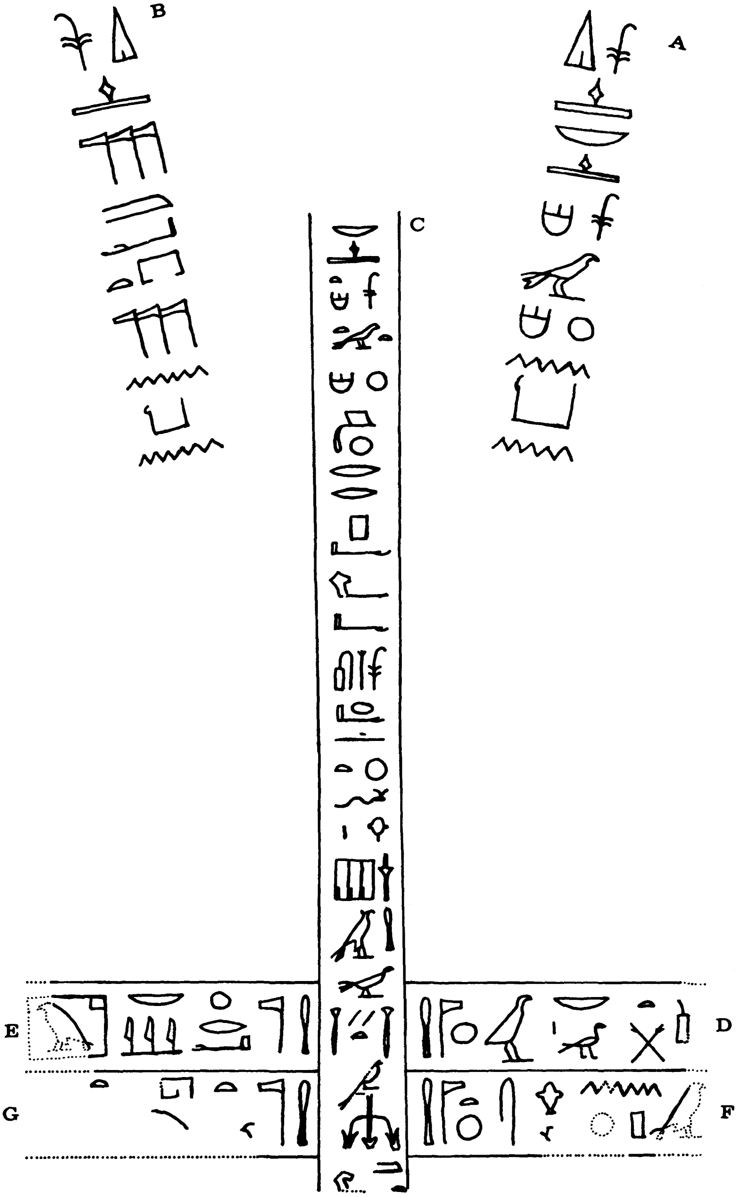
B
A
C
E
D
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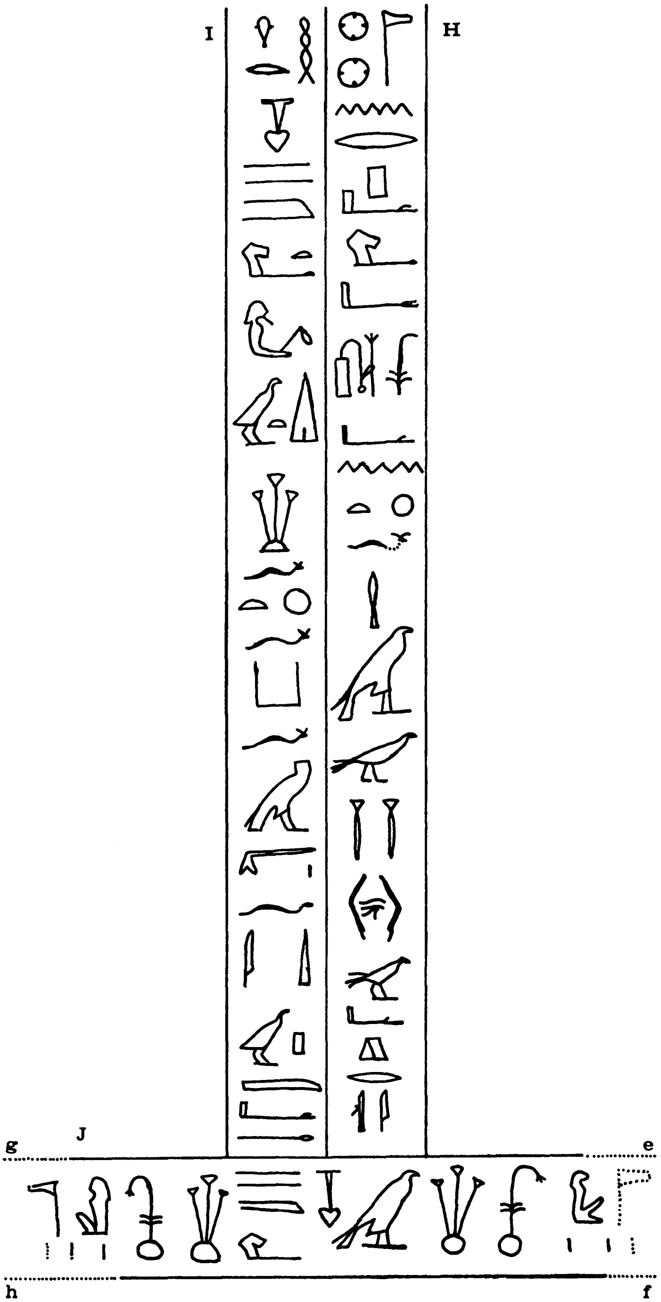
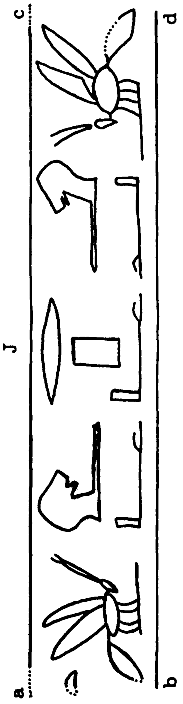
F

PLATE XIV

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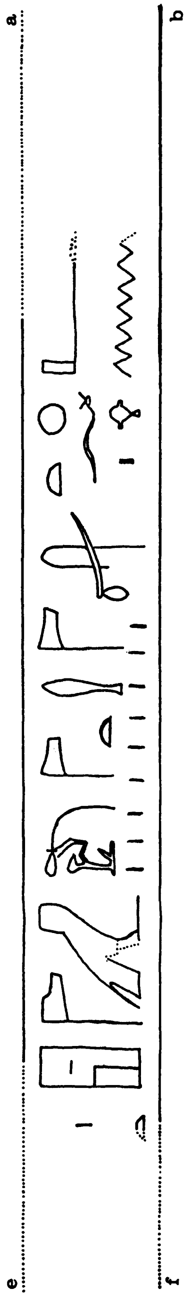

e
f
a
b

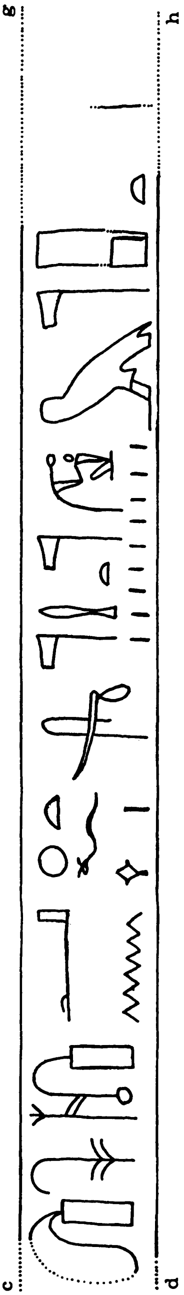
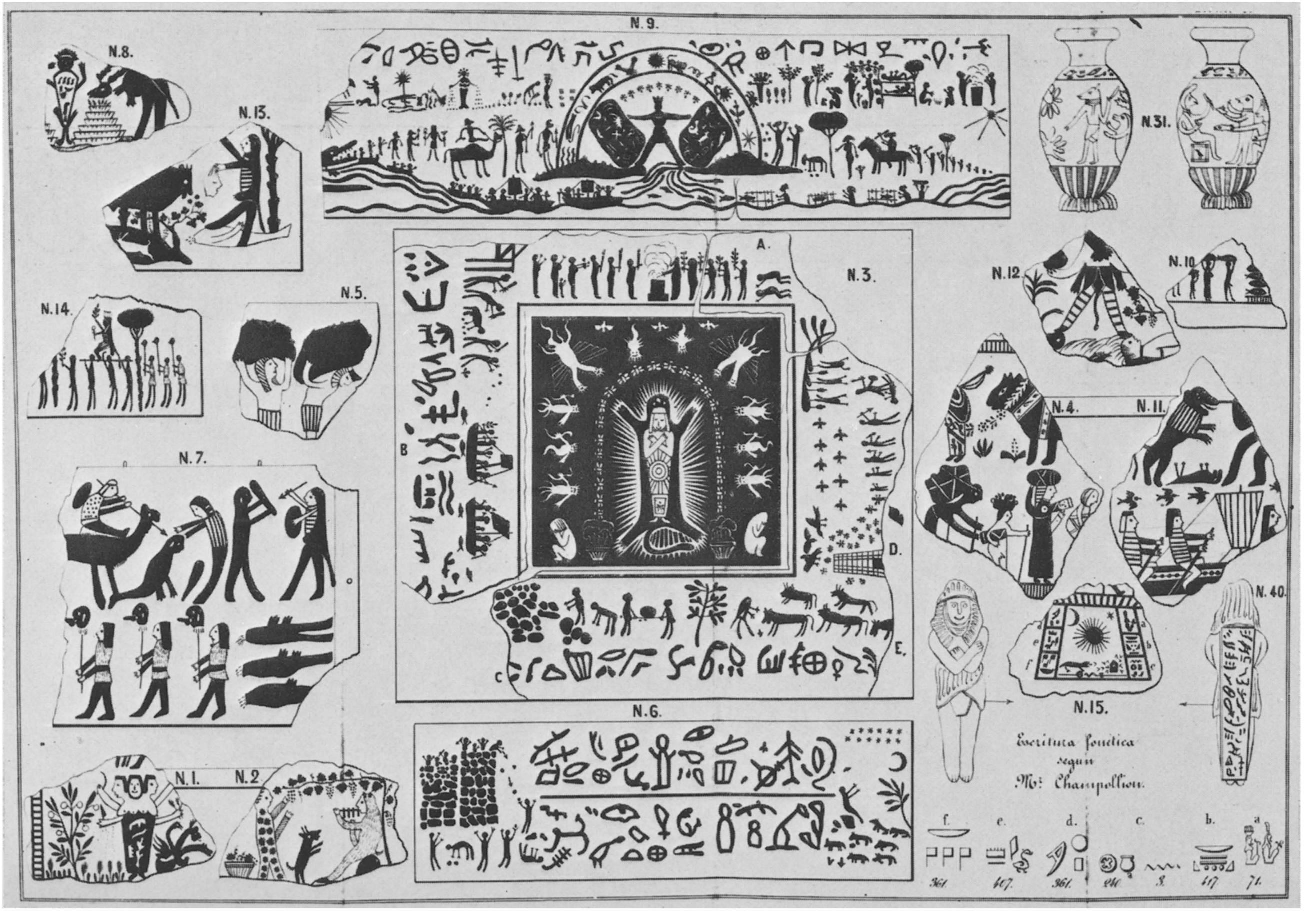

c
d
g
h

PLATE XVI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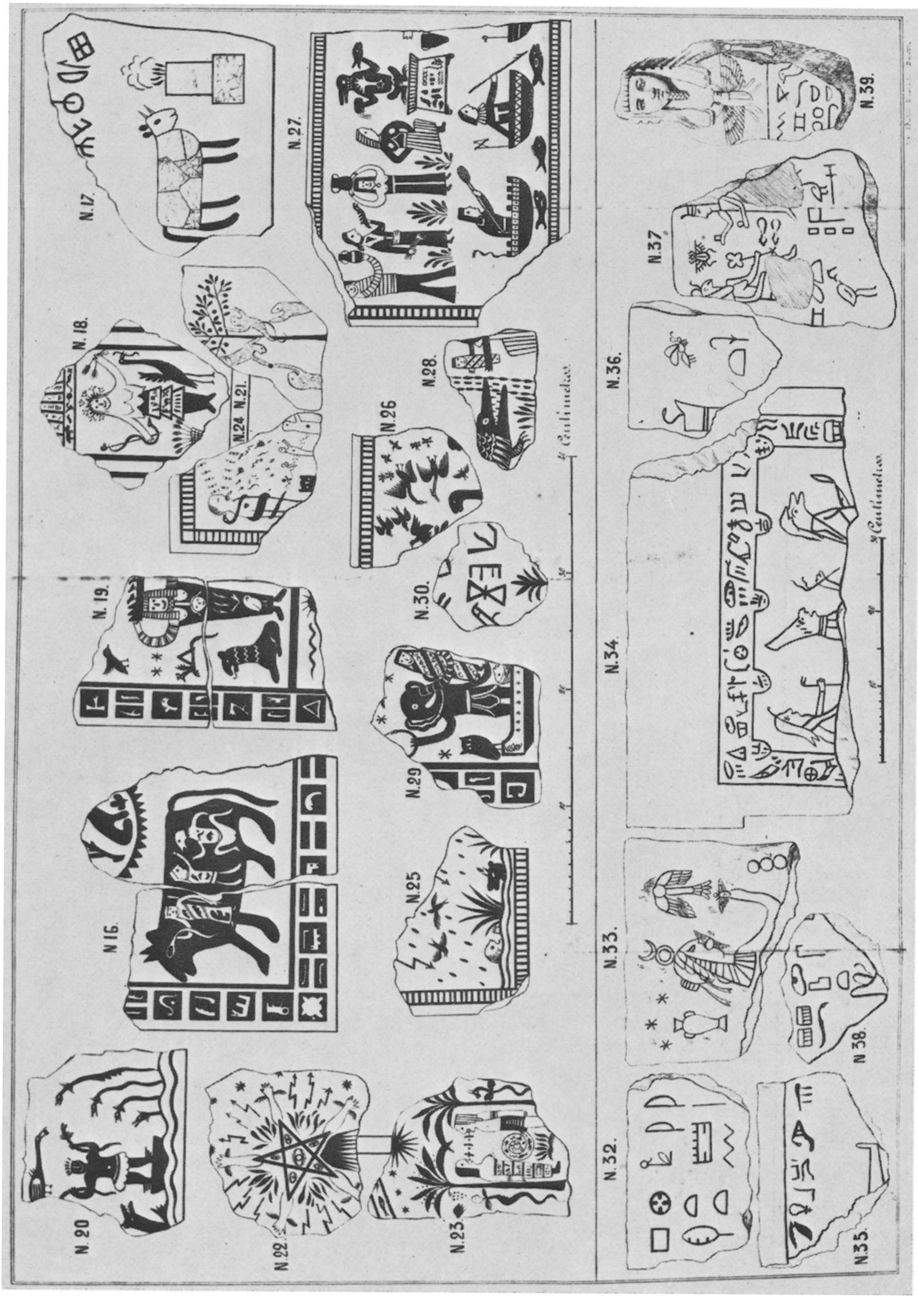
N. 8.
N. 13.
N. 31.
N. 12.
N. 10
A.
N. 3.
N. 14.
N. 5.
N. 4.
N. 11.
N. 7.
B
D.
E.
C
N. 40.
N. 15.
N. 6.
N. 1.
N. 2
Escritura fonetica
segun
Mr. Champollion.
f.
e.
d.
c.
b.
a
361.
407.
361.
240.
8.
417.
71.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N.19.
N.16.
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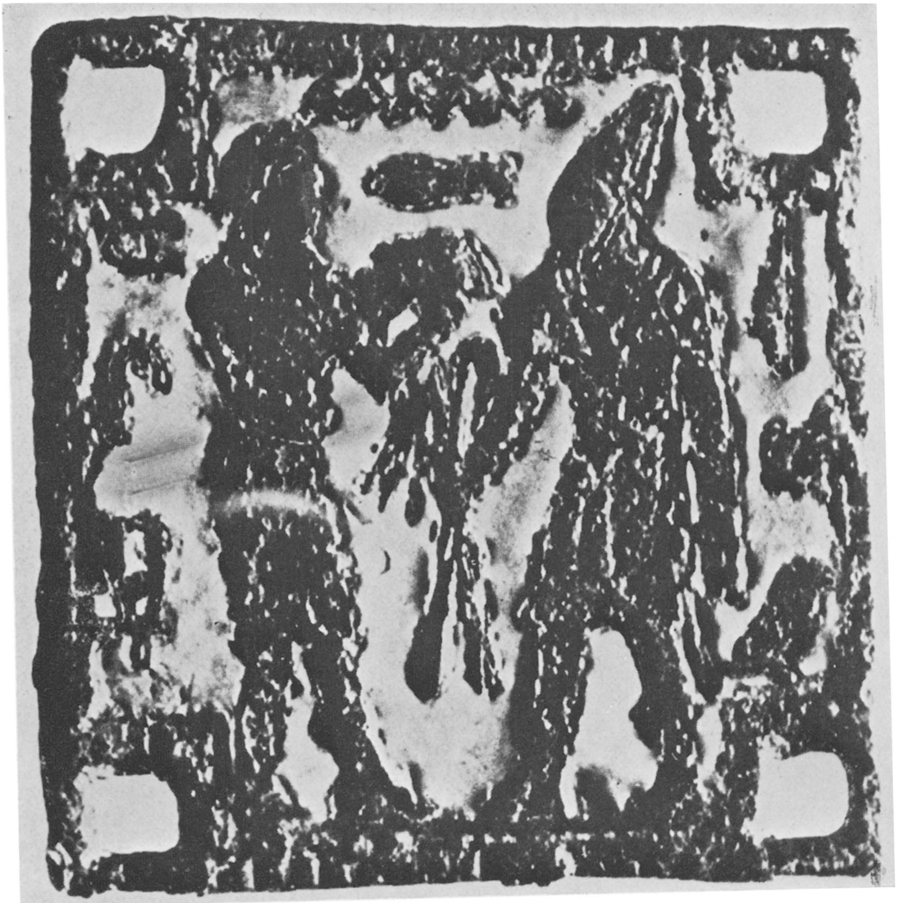
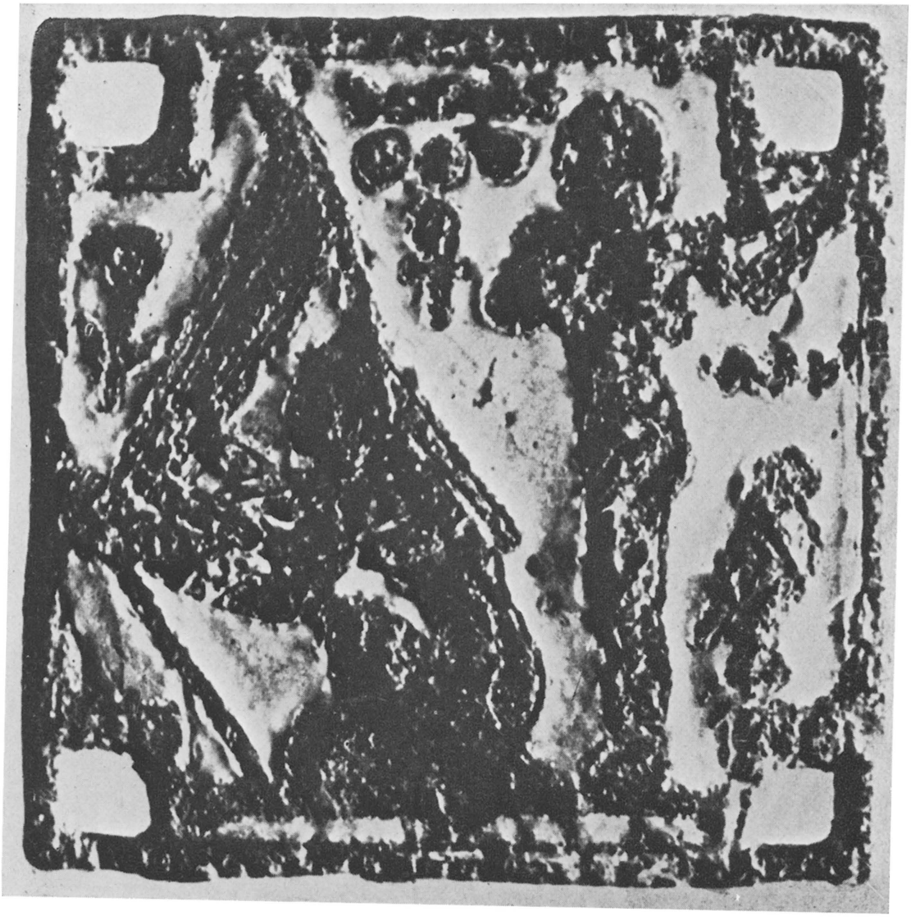
N.39.

PLATE XVIII





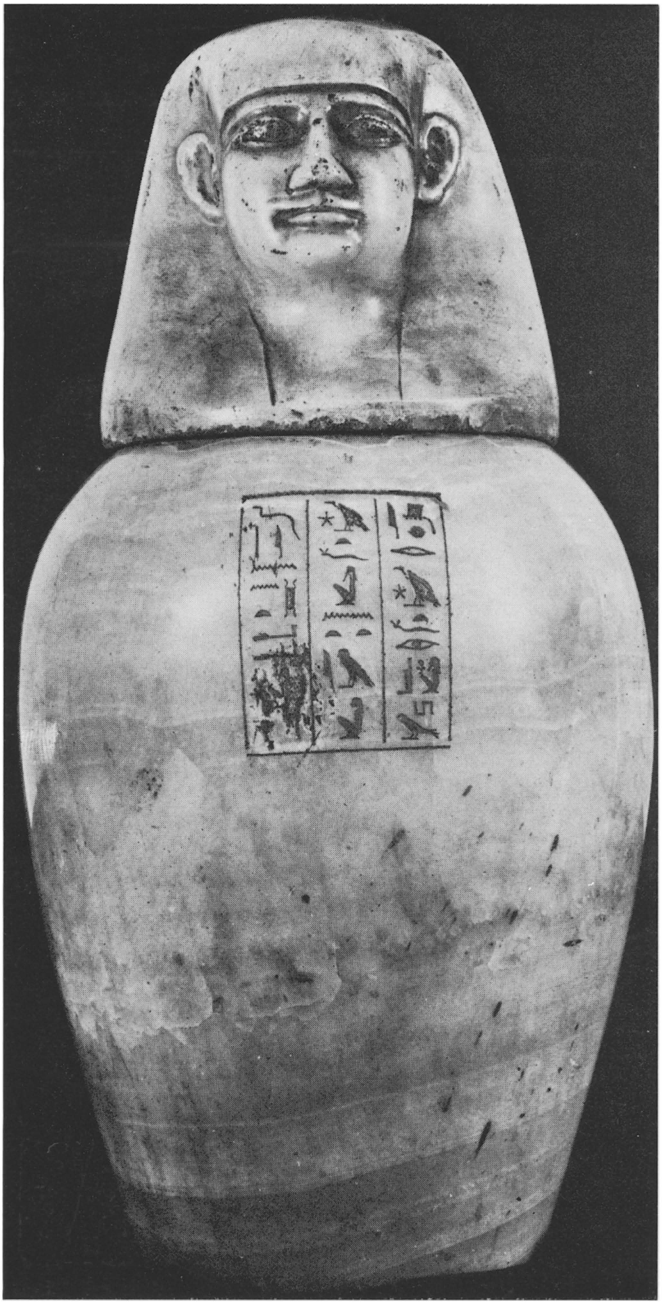
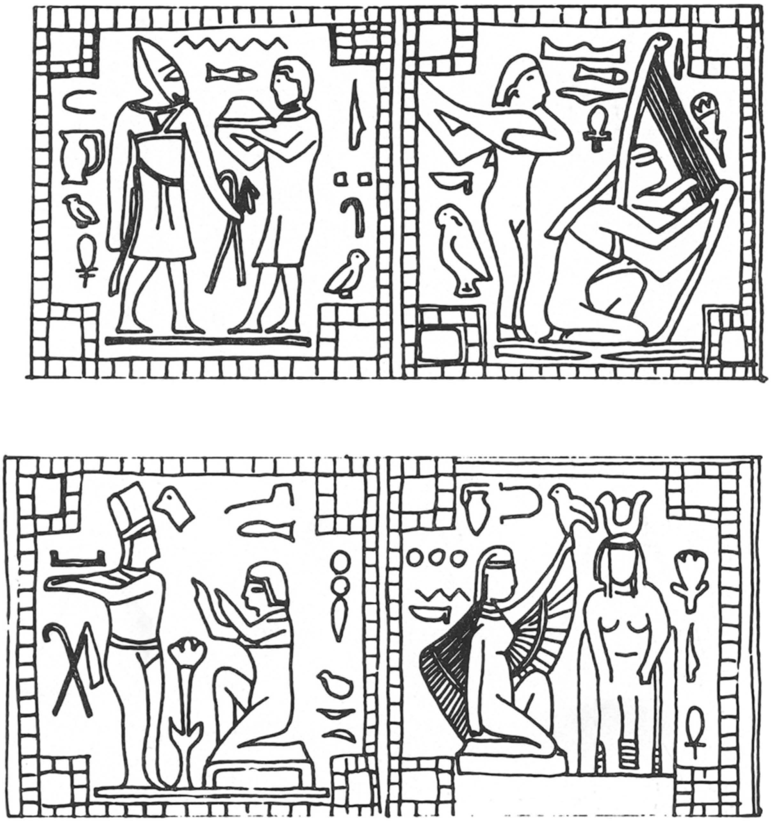


Plate XXI



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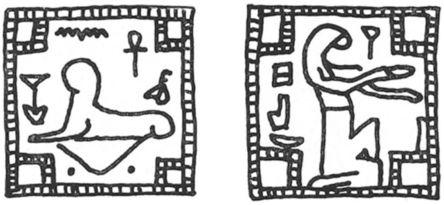

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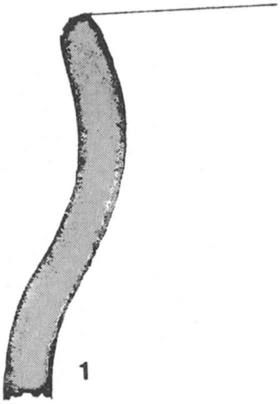
PLATE XXII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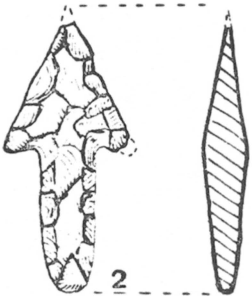
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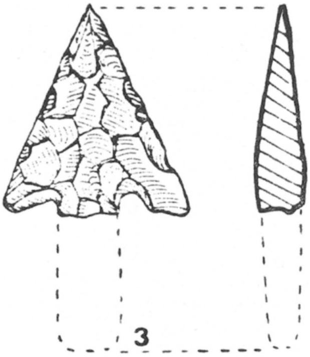
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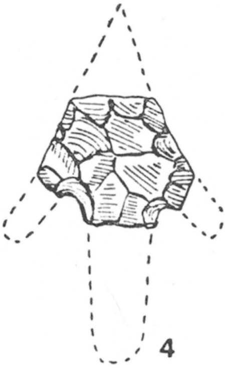
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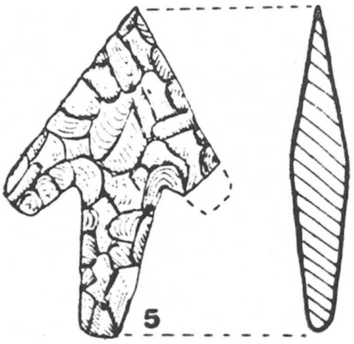
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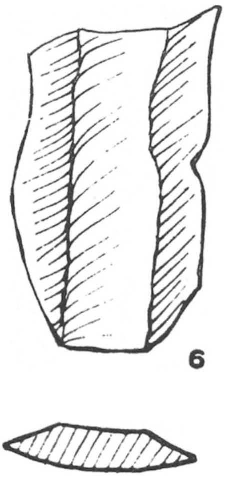
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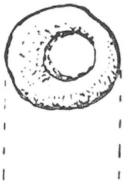
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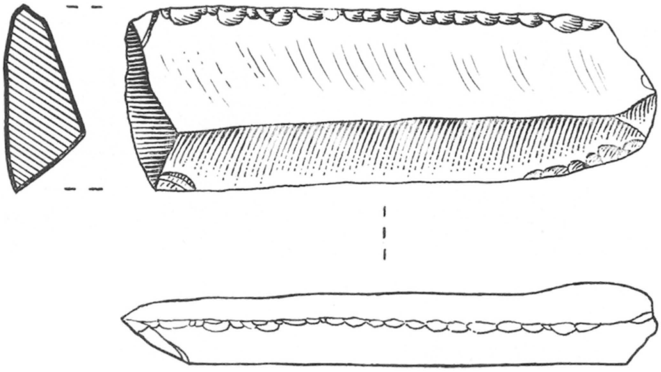

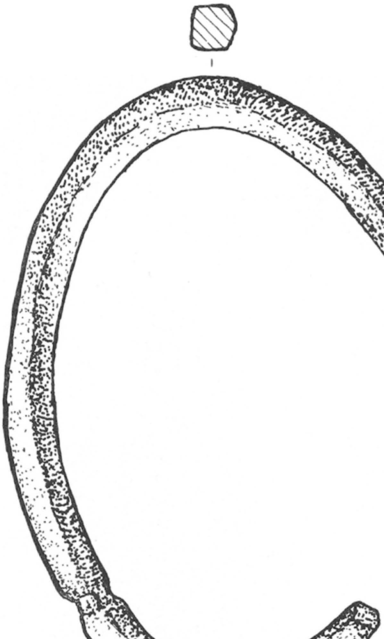

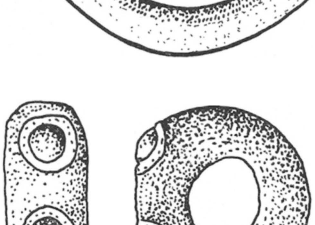

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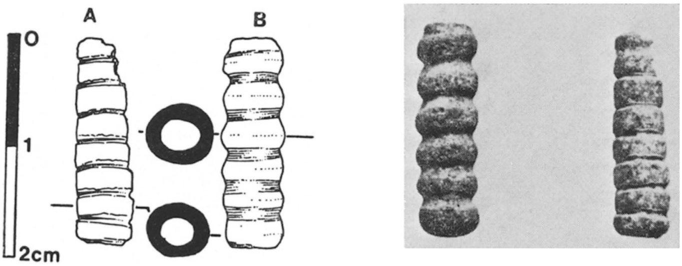

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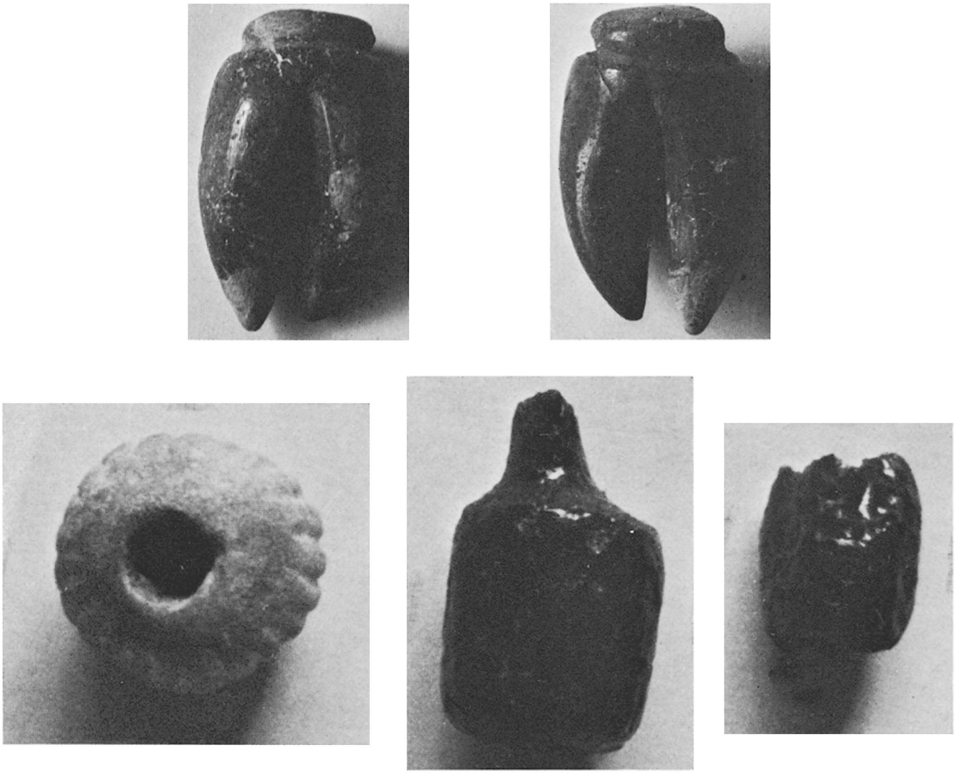

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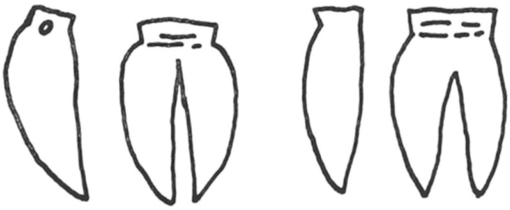

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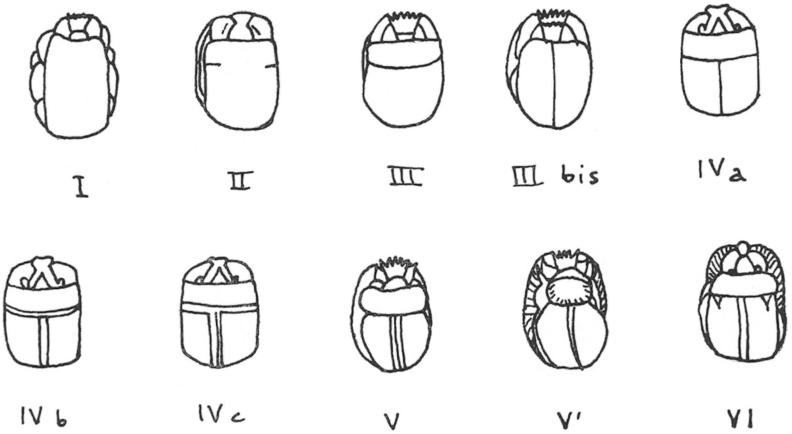
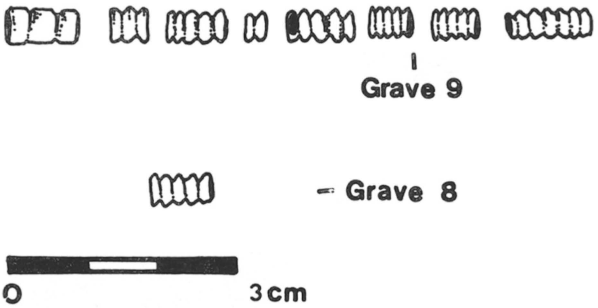
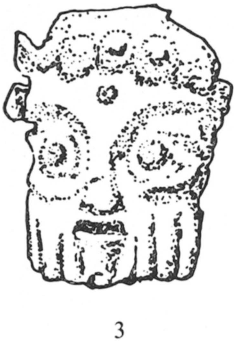

I
II
III
III bis
IVa
IV b
IV c
V
V'
VI

1


Grave 9
Grave 8
0
3cm

2



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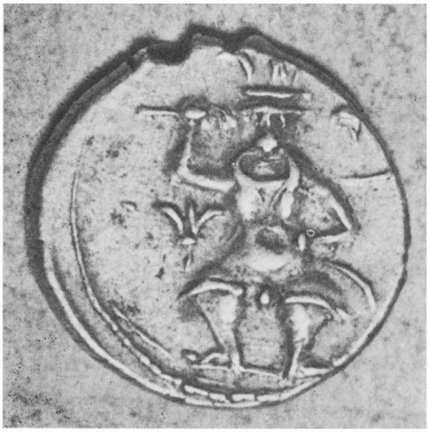

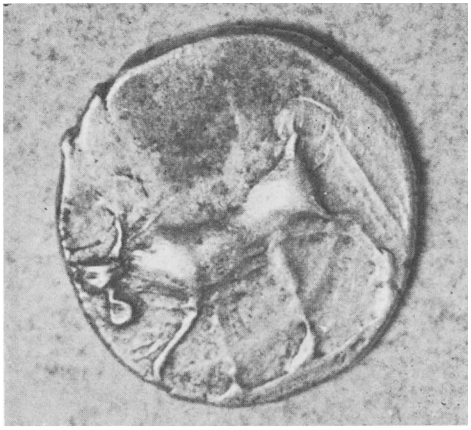

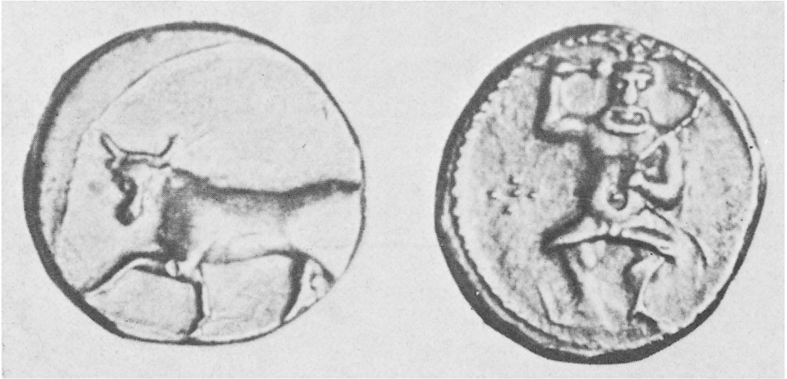

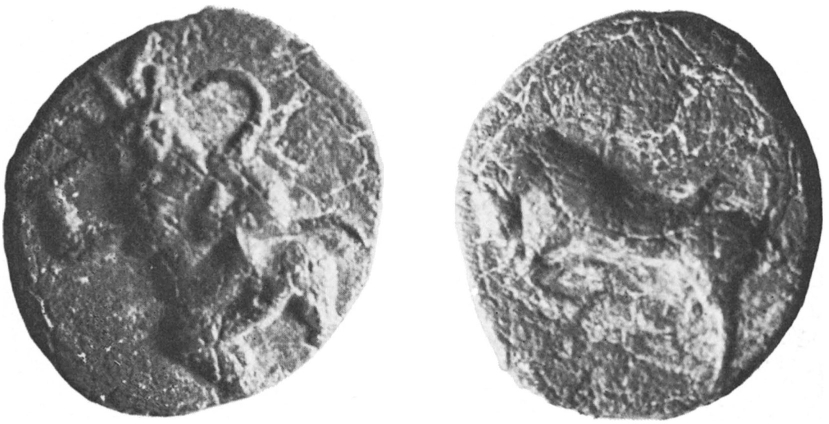

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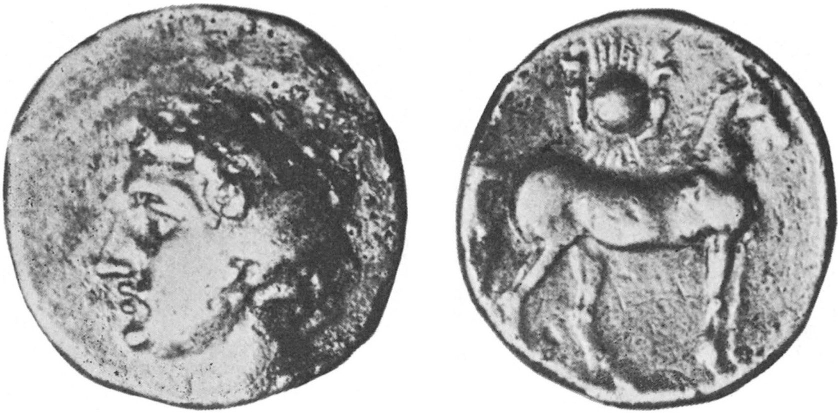

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PLATE XXVIII